ORGANISATION AND SYSTEM OF POLICING OF MEDIUM SIZE CITIES

By

MOHIT BHATTACHARYA

(CENTRE FOR TRAINING & RESEARCH IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION)
THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
NEW DELHI-1

CUS

Indian Institute of Public Administration
Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi.

Acc. No. 73-8836

Class No. N400x54/1n2

The book was issued from the Library on the date last stamped. It is due back within 15 days of its date of issue, if not recalled earlier.

30 AUG 1973

RECORD COPY

15 JUL 1977

-3 JAN 1981

2 DEC 1981

25 JAN 1982

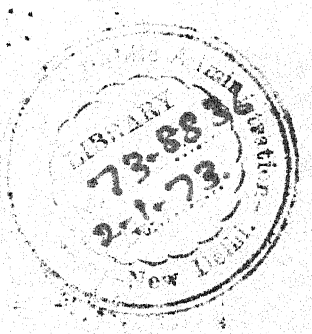
RECORD COPY

"NOT TO BE ISSUED"

Organisation and System of Policing of Medium Size Cities

by

Mohit Bhattacharya



(Centre for Training & Research in Municipal Administration)
The Indian Institute of Public Administration
New Delhi - 1

IIPA LIBRARY
8836

CUJ
M400.S4
B312

CONTENTS

		Page
	Foreward	
	Acknowledgements	
Chapters		
I	Introduction	1
II	City Profiles	19
III	Crime and Clearance	43
IV	Organisation	70
V	Management	124
VI	Personnel Policy and Training ...	174
	Summary of Recommendations ...	206

FOREWARD

On an assignment from the Bureau of Police Research and Development, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, Dr. Mohit Bhattacharya, Reader in this Institute, conducted the present research study on the 'Organisation and System of policing of Medium Size Cities'. Outside the three Presidency Towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, the Police Organisation in India was evolved uniformly during the British regime. The basic structure of police administration continues to be the same under the provisions of the Police Act of 1861. Over the years rapid urbanisation has created in its trail a number of fairly large cities whose police organisations have, however, failed by and large to keep pace with the rising urban problems. The impact of urbanisation on public administration is a fascinating subject of study. Usually, local government is the arena where this impact is most felt, which explains the reasons for many scholarly studies, both in India and abroad, on municipal government in the content of urbanisation. Our police administration being territorially located at the district or city level, it has the makings of local administration. As urbanisation is growing apace, special problems of policing are appearing locally in the shape of traffic regulation, 'white collar' crimes, juvenile delinquency and so on. In a densely populated

urban area with its intelligentsia and varied media of publicity, the efficiency of a police organisation has to face an acid test.

In India on account of colonial rule for about two centuries, Police and Police Administration have invariably become identified in the public mind as an agency associated with the detection of crime and the maintenance of 'law and order'. It will be easily appreciated that this, even though within the legitimate scope of the police functions, is rather a limited view of police responsibility. In democratic countries, where a long association of the community with the administration has established itself, the police has a much more positive and constructive role to play in every day life of the community and its major contribution should be in the development and inculcation of the norms of discipline in social conduct and that has to be achieved, if civilised standards are to be attained, by the police being not so obvious as they often are in India. In the urban situation, the role of the police in this particular matter is of special significance because the need of order and discipline is all the greater in these areas to maintain the smooth flow of the community's life. It is this development which should be sought through proper personnel policies, police-community relations and the basic structure of police administration

with proper delineation of accountability.

This study seeks to explain the urban challenge to police administration and its main thrust is toward the reorganisation of city police administration to render it a fit agency for urban policing. Based on extensive field studies at home and abroad, this research work has laid bare the main deficiencies in our city policy organisation and suggested important structural reforms. Although the study deals mainly with the problems of urban policing, many of the major issues raised here would be of general import for the police organisation as a whole.

It is rather unfortunate that police administration which is so intimately connected with community living has generally failed to attract the researcher's eye in this country. We would expect that this study will provoke new thinking on our police organisation and lead to many more similar studies in future.

We are thankful to the Bureau of Police Research and Development for assigning the project to the Institute and funding it.

sd/-

(G. MUKHARJI)
DIRECTOR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The study owes its success primarily to the ready and ungrudging cooperation of the police officers of the States and cities included in the sample, to whom the author's debt is naturally the heaviest. Members of all the ranks provided necessary assistance quickly and smilingly so much so that the study deserves to be dedicated to them. Dr. A. Gupta, Director of the Bureau of Police Research and Development, Government of India, rendered all possible help to get in touch with the police authorities in different States and cities. He was kind enough to move the C.B.I. to make contacts with the European Police Authorities, which proved so valuable during the author's trip to Europe to study the police authorities in different cities on the Continent and in England. The author takes this opportunity to express his heart-felt gratitude to him. Thanks are also due to Shri P. D. Malaviya, Assistant Director in the Bureau of Police Research and Development, who has been extremely helpful at all stages of the research work. The Home Secretaries of the involved States and the District Magistrates of the Districts embracing the sample cities spared their valuable time to engage in prolonged discussions on the subject, for which the author is thankful to all of them. The author takes this opportunity to express his sincere thanks to the police officers of the cities

of Paris, Geneva, Frankfurt, Cologne, The Hague, Stockholm, Malmo, Copenhagen, London, Birmingham and Stevenage. It was sheer delight to talk to them, each one of whom was exceedingly nice to the author during his visit to Europe to study city policing problems there. The author gratefully acknowledges the warm hospitality extended to him by the Continental and English City Police Authorities. Prof. G. Mukharji, Director of the Institute, was instrumental in involving the author in the study, and he wrote the 'foreword' for it. The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to him. To his colleagues in the Institute, the author is thankful for their help, directly or indirectly, in conducting the study. Shri Mukh Raj assisted the author in the research work and had been a lively companion during field trips all over India. Shri Raj deserves praise for his intelligent assistance and heartfelt thanks for all that he did for the study. For any error or ommission, the author would, however, ask nobody to share the blame.

Mohit Bhattacharya

I

INTRODUCTION

The present study deals with the problems of police organisation of a number of major cities in India all of which fall in the census category of class I cities and structurally belong to the district police organisation. Aside from a handful of commissionerate cities, nowhere has city police administration been organised as an autonomous entity. Police force in every State is organised as a State force as distinguished, for instance, from the municipal forces in the United States of America. Historically, the operational unit of police has been the revenue district. The position remains virtually the same even today, although the district police organisation is much more integrated now with the supra-district unit - the range, and with the State headquarters. It needs to be emphasised, therefore, that the city police organisations under study form an integral part of a larger system.

Scope:

In suggesting this project, the Police Research Advisory Council emphasised that "the present system of policing in our rapidly growing cities is outdated, dilatory and ineffective, and as such, a thorough study may be conducted on the basis of information which may be secured from cities having a population of more than 5

lakhs".[1] Obviously, the idea of launching the research arose out of a feeling of organisational inadequacies of the system of policing in the fast growing cities. Later, at the instance of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, the scope of research was defined in the following words: "The object of the study might be to determine what system of policing would be best suited to medium cities. Of course, the system prevailing in bigger cities will certainly be studied, but the recommendations may be made in respect of medium cities keeping in view the problems peculiar to such cities". The implication was that the system of policing in vogue in the bigger metropolitan complexes - the commissionerate system - might be left out of the scope of the study, and attention should primarily be paid to the organisational problems of city policing in the rapidly growing urban centres covered by the District Police System. The area of investigation for the purposes of the present study was, thus, clearly demarcated. The commissionerates were excluded, and the only other system that remained to be

---

1. Police Research Advisory Council, Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting held on 14-15 December, 1966. p. 18 (cyclostyled).

studied was the district system. Aside from the commissionerate system of policing, no other pattern of policing has been evolved in India to suit the special problems of growing cities and towns. The district system originated at a time in history when state field administration had to be oriented toward village administration, and the urban pockets which were there, were few and far between and very much an integral part of village India. The district system naturally enveloped both rural and urban areas. Over the years urbanisation grew apace creating in its trail sizeable urban complexes standing almost on their own distinct from the far-flung rural hinterland. The impact of urbanisation on governmental organisation has generally been studied in the field of local government. The state field administration - the district system - is an important area where such impacts can also be critically examined. Where the urban complexes within a district have been endowed with the status of a municipal corporation, as in the case of Lucknow, Kanpur, Trivandrum, Ernakulam and others, they have, for the purposes of local civic administration, been freed from the district system.[2] But, for all purposes of state

2. Unlike the smaller municipalities, they can correspond directly with the State Government, instead of approaching through the District Magistrate.

administration including those of police administration, they come under the unitary control of District Administration. This administrative situation posed a problem for the present research work. We were asked to study the peculiar problems of policing in the rapidly growing cities. Organisationally, however, these cities do not have autonomous police systems. They constitute an integral part of the all-embracing district system which cuts across both rural and urban areas. The police problems of the sample cities had, therefore, to be studied within the overall context of District Administration. In fact, one of the major interests of the study has been to examine the compatibility of rural district administration with urban police administration. In delineating the scope of the study, the guiding consideration has been this: owing to growing urbanisation, have the problems of policing in the sample cities been such that these demand a change in their existing system of policing? How far are the directions of organisational change discernible from the contemporaneous policing problems in the selected cities?

Range of Police functions:

The activities of the police are manifold. In fact, no other arm of government has such wide-ranging functions as a police force has. Public peace and social

tranquility which make life liveable are greatly dependent on the operations of the police. In the discharge of their functions, the police are endowed with extensive lawful powers, which have been a source of both their strength and weakness. So long as these are properly used, the police are held in high esteem. But the scope for misuse or abuse of power is also wide enough, which often brings the police to disrepute. Again, many a time the police would be willy-nilly involved in unpleasant duties, and compelled to take strong action. It is quite common to see the police emerge out of an episode as the target of public criticism. Due to historical reasons, our police have not had the anchorage in society. Against such an unhelpful background, even an honest attempt to keep the law would, not infrequently, be misunderstood as a police excess or corruption. Really speaking, the difficulties in police operations arise out of the absence of a universally acceptable norm of 'proper' police action. What is good police action to one party or individual would be termed as bad by others. The dilemma has been well expressed in the following words: "If they act swiftly and use force to put down a clash, some politicians accuse them of 'brutality' and demand their suspension. On the

other hand, if they are lenient, they are charged with dereliction of duty". [3]

In a developing society such as ours, the scope for all kinds of social conflicts and tensions is very great. The police, as the custodian of law and order, would thus naturally have a hard time in such a situation. Usually, the urban areas are the nodal points of politics, agitations and demonstrations. Social disorganisation is also closely associated with the cities and towns, and crime of all kinds finds its happy home in the urban areas. The manner in which the police can deal with all these problems serves as an acid test of its effectiveness.

As a veteran police chief wrote, "Urban life concentrates and multiplies law enforcement problems. Police inefficiencies which may go nearly unnoticed in the relatively stable pattern of rural life are cast into prominence and grave import by the fast-paced social and economic turmoil of the larger cities..... It is here that the public outcry is heard first and loudest, and it is here that sheer necessity puts law enforcement to its crucial test". [4]

3. The Statesman, Delhi, February 2, 1972.

4. William H. Parker, 'The Police Challenge in our Great Cities', The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Volume 291, January, 1954.

The scale of demands on the police force can perhaps be correlated with the peculiar nature of an urban area, its economic base, population composition, area of influence, and its 'tradition' including the habits and characteristics of its people. One city may generate specific types of crime or problems of police-public relations; another of about the same size may not have these problems and yet may throw up some other crimes and law and order problems. Since the city characteristics are so important in determining the diverse needs of policing, an attempt has been made to draw a pen-picture of the urban situation obtaining in the sample cities.[5]

City Sample:

As originally assigned to us, the specification for this research work was that we should study the police organisation of 'medium'-size cities. For our purposes, the medium-size cities were defined as those having a population ranging from 2 to 6 lakhs, according to the 1961 census. Table I shows the actual population figures of the sample cities. It can be seen that out of eight cities in the sample only Kanpur with a population

---

5. See Chapter II.

of 9.71 lakhs goes far beyond the range, and Lucknow with a figure of 6.56 lakhs is just crossing the upper limit. As a developing urban complex, Kanpur justified its inclusion in the sample, although population-wise it far outstripped others. In selecting the sample, one important consideration has been to study the policing problems of those growing urban centres which do not have the commissionerate system of police organisation. In terms of organisation, the sample cities are distinguished by their police set-up which is integrally linked with the district administration, and in terms of population these are, with the exception of Kanpur, smaller than the commissionerate cities. Demographically, only Kanpur and Lucknow almost belong to the family of large urban complexes in India. The remaining six cities, that form the majority in the sample, are representative of a middle layer of cities which are a step below their giant cousins. Hence, the use of the term 'medium'-size cities is not wholly without justification.

In selecting the cities, regional diversities were kept in mind. The southern region is represented by Trivandrum, Coimbatore and the urban complex of Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye. Bhopal is taken from central India and Jaipur from the western part. The cities of Ludhiana,

Lucknow and Kanpur represent the north.

From economic, administrative and socio-cultural points of view, Indian cities are classifiable into distinct types such as capital cities, industrial cities, temple cities, port cities, tourist cities and so on. Classification would, of course, depend on the purpose and criteria adopted. Even then, pure types would be rare because of the mixed character of most of the cities. We did not try to undertake a sophisticated classification of city types, as this was beyond the scope of our inquiry. However, we were conscious of the existence of the diverse types and tried to cover a substantial part of this diversity. Thus, in our sample, Ludhiana, Kanpur and Coimbatore represent the basically industrial city. Lucknow, Jaipur, Trivandrum and Bhopal are capital cities with dominant service base. The last one is, of course, a fast developing city ringed by widespread industrial growth. Jaipur is also a well-known tourist centre. Culturally, all the four capital cities have their prominent role in the respective States. Only one city in the sample, e.g. Ernakulam has a harbour; but it cannot be called a large port city like Bombay. The Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye complex is presently experiencing considerable industrial development. These

sample cities are thus sufficiented variegated and together they represent, fairly well, the diversity of city types in India. It is interesting to observe how the police organisations in these different types respond to the varying urban situations conditioned by their socio-cultural, economic and administrative milieu.

Methodology:

As earlier pointed out, this research work started with the inquiry: do the urban problems in the growing medium cities demand a reorganisation of their police set-up? In terms of population size, the sample cities rank quite high in the table of class I cities. Demographically, these are growing fast and assuming a self-contained character. Against this background, we were asked to suggest an organisational model which would suit this type of cities best. Before embarking on the project in full swing, we tried to have a feel of the field and gather some idea about the police organisational inadequacies in the medium cities. This pilot investigation helped us raise key questions that formed the basis of subsequent inquiries. It should be clearly stated at the outset that this study starts with the idea that the police organisation in the medium cities,

Table - 1

Population of Sample Cities (1-8) and Commissionerate Cities (9-16) 1961

City	State	Population (in lakhs)
1. Bhopal T.G.	Madhya Pradesh	2.23
2. Coimbatore	Tamil Nadu	2.36
3. Ernakulam T.G.	Kerala	3.18
4. Jaipur	Rajasthan	4.03
5. Kanpur T.G.	Uttar Pradesh	9.71
6. Lucknow T.G.	Uttar Pradesh	6.56
7. Ludhiana	Punjab	2.44
8. Trivandrum T.G.	Kerala	2.02
9. Ahmedabad T.G.	Gujarat	12.06
10. Bangalore T.G.	Mysore	12.06
11. Calcutta	West Bengal	29.27
12. Greater Bombay	Maharashtra	41.52
13. Hyderabad T.G.	Andhra Pradesh	12.51
14. Madras	Tamil Nadu	17.29
15. Nagpur T.G.	Maharashtra	6.90
16. Poona T.G.	Maharashtra	7.37

Note: T.G. = Town Group

Source: Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II-A (i) General Population Tables.

which is a relic of rural administration, is not equal to the task of meeting the complex problems of urban policing. This is, of course, an *a priori* element - a value judgement, which is unavoidable in any research work. As Gunnar Myrdal writes, "There is an inescapable *a priori* element in all scientific work. Questions must be asked before answers can be given".[6] Following the deductive method, selective field data were collected and analysed to uncover the defects of the existing organisation. After the processed data and information have served to reveal the inadequacies of an existing organisation, the recommendation for another substitute organisation (which may be a new organisation or a modification of the old one) can be reached either with the help of an unrevealed bias or through a process of inductive reasoning by means of an interpretation of the gathered facts and data. It is quite common to follow the first procedure and make a recommendation for which no research would have been necessary. The second procedure, which we have adopted, helps in the minimisation of bias, if not its total elimination. We had, of course, mental images

---

6. Gunnar Myrdal, Objectivity in Social Research, Duckworth & Co., Ltd., London, 1970. p. 9.

of a few organisational models which provided a range of alternative solutions. These models, such as the commissioner system or the English local police system, were not, however, treated as straight-jackets but heuristic aids to find out an organisational framework for the sample cities.

Organisational reform is often suggested on the implicit idea of relative ineffectiveness of an existing organisation. In the absence of an accepted theory of organisational effectiveness [7], the recommended reform generally boils down to value-loaded proscriptions. The question of effectiveness of an organisation is a functional problem rather than a structural one. It is essentially related with the issue of organisational goal attainment. If we know for certain what tasks a police force is authorised to perform, one way of judging its effectiveness would be to examine the extent of task fulfilment. But a public agency like the police is so deeply involved in its operations with the community

---

7. See, in this connection, Basil S. Georgopoulos and Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "A Study of Organisational Effectiveness", in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), Readings on Modern Organisation. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969.

that in judging police performance the question of "how they did it" is as important as "what they did". A police force may eradicate all crime without winning the accolade of efficiency. We may be permitted to quote in this connection a very apt observation by a famous U.S. Commission Report:

"The inherent difficulties of police service make it impossible to measure the effectiveness of a police agency by any simple rule of thumb. The crime rate is sometimes used as an index of police effectiveness, but tools for measuring crime are clearly too crude and our knowledge of underlying causes of crime too imperfect to permit this easy association. Substantial social and economic changes may prompt increases in crime, notwithstanding the best efforts of an excellent police force. In some cities the professionalisation of a police force has been accompanied by an apparent rise in the crime rate, as official reporting techniques are improved [8] and increased public confidence in the police results in more crimes reported by citizens.

---

8. The efforts of the Utter Pradesh Police in 1961 to improve registration of crime are relevant in this connection. See Shanti Prasad, "Correct Registration of Crime", The Indian Police Journal, Vol. IX, No. 1, July, 1962.

"Other measures of police effectiveness, are similarly imprecise. The rate at which the police 'clear' reported crimes had been suggested as an appropriate measure. But the clearance rate is subject to many reporting variations between police departments, making it difficult to ascertain whether a particular rate of clearance is good, bad or indifferent. Moreover, this index only reflects a police agency's capacity to solve crimes already committed, rather than its ability to prevent crime. Efforts to measure the intangibles of police-community co-operation - by counting the number of assults against policemen, for example - also provide a very limited basis for evaluating a police department".[9]

These observations amply underline the difficulties involved in evaluating the performance of a police organisation. Police is just one of the various agencies engaged in keeping the public peace and social health. Some others such as the judiciary, correctional administration and jail administration are of equal importance. Thus police efficiency has got to be considered alongwith the effective functioning of other

---

9. Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1966. p. 143.

allied organisations. For the purposes of our study, organisational effectiveness has mainly been looked at from the functional point of view. We have chiefly depended on what the police organisations have been able to achieve in terms of shouldering the responsibilities entrusted to them. Still, we have attached utmost importance to community satisfaction which we tried to gauge through interviews with a fairly large number of people belonging to different walks of life. Police administration can be studied from different points of view. For instance, David Bayley's study has been concerned with "the impingement of police activities upon the working of a political system" ——— an approach essentially of a political scientist. A criminologist will have a different approach from this. Similarly, a management analyst will study policing problems from his own angle of vision. The present study is essentially public administration oriented. On the one hand, we have tried to sort out the management problems involved in the police organisations; on the other, we have sought to relate the structural and managerial problems to the question of public accountability. We have looked at the police organisation primarily as a service agency which must, if it has to succeed, work for the

community and live as close to it as possible.[10]

Sources of Information:

The data and information for the study have been collected in the following ways:

i) first hand collection of field data

ii) answers to questionnaire

iii) public documents

iv) interviews, and

v) other second hand sources such as books and journals.

We travelled extensively to collect information and meet people conversant with police problems. In the sample cities we closely observed the working of the police machinery at different levels ranging from the headquarters to the police stations. A questionnaire was prepared mainly to collect information from the official agencies. The police commission reports - both all-India and State - contain valuable material on all conceivable aspects of policing. Besides, we were given access to some of the enquiry reports relating to police firing in a few States. The firing

---

10. In this regard, David Bayley's analysis of the survey of public opinion and the police has also been of considerable help. See David H. Bayley, The Police and Political Development in India, Princeton University Press, 1969. Ch.8.

reports appended to D. K. Ghosh's book on Riots: Prevention and Control [11] have been particularly instructive. Other public documents and books and papers that contributed to our knowledge have been mentioned in proper places. Interviews with the members of different State police forces have been an invaluable source of information. These, together with the field observations of actual police operations, immensely helped in the development of an insight into the subject.

---

11. D. K. Ghosh, Riots: Prevention and Control, Eastern Law House, Calcutta, 1971.

II

CITY PROFILES

For a proper appreciation of city policing problems, the character of each city has to be closely observed. The trend of urbanisation, basic demographic characteristics, the socio-economic and administrative background, the urban matrix in fine, sets the stage for the organisation and operation of a city police force. The eight cities in our sample possess a uniform police system. Structurally, these are governed by the district system of administration under which the district magistrate is in overall charge of state field administration which includes police administration. If there is any such thing as a 'city personality' this would obviously influence the structure and functions of so important a public agency as the police. Comparative city personality is an interesting subject of study, which is, of course, not within our terms of reference. We are mainly concerned here with depicting a broad picture of the urban situation obtaining in each sample city which serves as a backdrop for the city's police organisation.

The Changing Cities:

Half of the cities in the sample had been the

capital cities of the erstwhile princely States. These are Cochin, Trivandrum, Bhopal and Jaipur - all of which still live with their regal past. Even today, history is writ large on their landscape. The lay out of the cities, their architecture, buildings and monuments, town planning and road net work ——— all these were developed by their successive rulers. Cochin with its beautiful waterfront is largely the creation of the Varma Kings.[1] The city of Trivandrum, which has its roots in ancient history owes its grandeur to the Maharajas and its luxuriant vegitation to nature. Widely known as the 'pink city of India', Jaipur was founded by Swai Jai Singh in early eighteenth century and later beautified by successive Maharajas. About the same time, an Afghan adventurer, Dost Muhammad Khan, laid the foundation of Bhopal as the principal Islamic state in Central India. The area still known as Shahr-i-Khas or the city proper was his selection and creation. Usually called the city of lakes, Bhopal stands almost at the edge of two vast lakes, the Pukhta-Pul Talab (the lake of the stone bridge) and the

---

1. For a good historical account, see, A Sreedhara Menon, Ernakulam, Kerala State Gazetteers, Trivandrum, 1965.

Bara Talab (the great lake), whose placid waters have seen the ups and downs of the reigning Nawabs of the Bhopal State.

Of the remaining four cities, Ludhiana with its historic clock-tower is largely the creation of the English. Situated on the famous Grand Trunk Road, it bore the brunt of tremendous refugee influx after the partition of the country and rapidly changed from a sleepy town into a huge urban complex. The two cities of Uttar Pradesh ——— Lucknow and Kanpur ——— grew up as busy urban centres for very different reasons. Lucknow owes much of its beauty to the Nawabs of Oudh. Kanpur, on the other hand, is an industrial parvenu on the monotonous Gangetic plain which started developing virtually since the second world war. If Ludhiana is the pride of Punjab and Kanpur of Uttar Pradesh, Coimbatore occupies a pride of place in Tamil Nadu. "With its salubrious climate and picturesque background of mountains and with its textile industry and technical institutions, its role in the developing economy of Tamil Nadu State is significant". [2]

---

2. District Census Handbook: Coimbatore, Census of India, 1961, Part X-1, Vol. I, 1964, p. 1.

If the Maharajas and the Nawabs were alive today, they would have found their capital cities completely changed into sprawling urban areas that have long since spilled over their walled surroundings. At least one of them, e.g. Bhopal, is fast losing its historic character and changing into an industrial city. The transformation of the three industrial cities of Kanpur, Ludhiana and Coimbatore is well understandable. As one study puts it:

".....Till 1778 Kanpur was merely a village. With the network of railways laid in 1863, it assumed a far greater importance from the point of view of trade and industry. Also, it gained importance due to its central location in the Indo-Gangetic plains, and presence of river, canal and host of other facilities encouraged the leather and textile industries. The first textile mill was started in 1861. By 1891 it became quite an important industrial centre. Now it is the 'nodal' industrial centre of the State. Jute, leather, textile, defence (aircraft and ordnance) rolling mills, and host of other industries have developed here". [3]

---

3. Sudha Saxena, Trends of Urbanisation in Uttar Pradesh, Satish Book Enterprise, Agra, 1970. p. 62.

Originally a centre of extensive trade in agricultural products, Ludhiana started changing its character mainly after the partition of India in 1947. As the refugees were flooding the town, there was a scramble for space, and all kinds of colonies, tenements and improvised dwellings and work places mushroomed to accommodate people and activities. The physical size of the town suddenly increased beyond all proportion. Initially, industrial development was sought to be injected in the area through government efforts. But, it is basically private enterprise that radically transformed the face of the town and gradually turned it into an important centre of commerce and industry in the whole of northern India. The city is now widely known for its hosiery goods, cycles and cycle parts and the sewing machines industry. [4]

The other industrial city, Coimbatore, has often been called the 'Manchester of the South'. Most of the cotton textile mills in the State of Tamil Nadu are located in Coimbatore city itself and the adjoining areas, such as Peelamedu, Singanallur, Ganapathi and

---

4. City Development Programme, Ludhiana (1966-71), Department of Town and Country Planning, Punjab, 1969.

Uppilipalayam. Coimbatore, along with its neighbouring areas is the hub of a variety of industries that have consistently attracted in-migrants from different quarters. To quote the Census Authorities: "Coimbatore city deserves special attention on account of metropolitan features. Only a little over 56 per cent of the city population originally belonged to it". [5]

The cities which were the capitals of erstwhile princely States have also been affected by the wind of change. Jaipur, for instance, is no longer the city which was set-up in accordance with the best principles of the Shilpa Shastra. Especially after 1949, when the city became the capital of the newly constituted State of Rajasthan, it started bursting at the seams. Within the walled city, congestion and over-crowding have changed the pattern of living and under increasing population pressure, it broke loose on all sides outside the city walls. Today, the area outside the walled city would be not less than eight to ten times than within it.

Of the two Kerala cities, Cochin is presently a part of a rapidly growing industrial-urban complex

---

5. District Census Handbook, op. cit. p. 11.

consisting of Cochin, Ernakulam and Alwaye. The Alwaye-Kalamasseri area constitutes the famous industrial belt of Kerala. Due to locational advantages, the Alwaye-Ernakulam-Cochin complex has attracted several big factories and commercial establishments. The Cochin Harbour and the backwaters have contributed greatly to the area's continued prosperity which in turn has attracted people from far and wide. Trivandrum, the capital of Kerala State, occupies a pride of place as an administrative and cultural centre which exerts its influence throughout the State. This applies equally well to the other capital cities in the sample. Because of the smallness and compactness of the Kerala State, Trivandrum has, however, a far greater impact on other areas in the State than any other capital city. The city has expanded, during the last twenty five years, both demographically and spatially. During the period, the city area has in fact increased by 25%, which explains its growth and dynamism.[6]

---

6. Development Plan for Trivandrum City, Report prepared by Department of Town Planning and Architecture, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1966.

Lucknow, once known as a "Magnum Emporium" [7] developed in history according to the whims of its different rulers and its river of sorrow - the Gomati, whose floods have often set the planners thinking about the shape of the city. Planned development of the city got real impetus after 1930 when the secretariat and other government offices were shifted to the city from Allahabad. Independence brought in its trail the influx of refugees and coupled with it was the rural-urban migration. Under the impact of continuously rising population, the inevitable fate of the city was to face haphazard growth, congestion and social disorganisation. Like Lucknow, Bhopal started expanding due largely to industrialisation after 1930. The city's potentialities were, however, not properly exploited before its accession to India. Situated on the main lines of communication and lying midway between Delhi and Bombay, Bhopal possesses a locational advantage which is being utilised only now. With the establishment of the Heavy Electricals and the siting of ancillary industries near about, the city is poised for rapid industrialisation. The

---

7. Lucknow: A Gazetteer, Vol. XXXVII of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Lucknow, 1922, p. 51.

influx of immigrants and unregulated urban growth which accompany industrialisation are already visible in and around the city.[8]

Population Growth:

All the sample cities are currently in the grip of growing urbanisation which has disturbed their physical shape and pattern of living. Overcrowding and congestion, slums and low-standard housing, traffic jams, deteriorating civic conditions, short supply of essential urban facilities, unemployment ——— all these have become an integral part of city life. Demographic growth of the sample cities can readily be understood from the data presented in Table 8. The figures relate to the last three decades. Out of the eight cities, five have grown up in association with other neighbouring areas. As the 1961 census observed, "It was realised that in certain clusters the urban area is not really limited only to the notified boundary of any one or two places but embraces satellite towns and cities, industrial towns or settlements close to this urban area, which may even be surrounded by rural areas. There was,

---

8. See, P.C. Malhotra, Socio-Economic Survey of Bhopal City and Badragarh, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964.

therefore, an attempt from the very beginning to define well-formed clusters and treat them as town groups".[9] The town groups are, conceptually, different from the 'city', as these embrace the city and its adjoining areas. For administrative purposes, the concept is useful in so far as it helps understand the spatial direction of urban growth and the linkages among

Table 2

Sample Cities: Percentage Decade Population Variation

Cities	State	1941-51	1951-61	1961-71
Kanpur T.G.	U.P.	+44.75	+37.66	+31.10
Lucknow T.G.	U.P.	+28.33	+31.86	+26.01
Jaipur	Rajasthan	+65.59	+38.58	+51.98
Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye T.G.	Kerala	+30.03	+61.78	+56.19
Trivandrum T.G.	Kerala	+17.89	+52.95	+70.87
Coimbatore	Tamil Nadu	+51.71	+44.78	+23.46
Ludhiana	Punjab	+37.76	+58.67	+64.37
Bhopal T.G.	M.P.	+36.03	+117.87	+75.86

Source: i) Census of India, 1961 (Vol.) Part II-A (i) General Population Tables.

ii) Census of India, 1971 , Provisional Population Tables.

9. Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Part II-A (i), General Population Tables, p. 52.

a group of places. Table 8 shows the areas and constituent units of the five town groups formed around five of our sample cities.

In the 1971 Census, the 'townsgroup' concept has been replaced by the term 'Urban Agglomeration' with a different connotation. When the 1971 Census data would be finally published, these will no doubt throw new light on urban growth patterns. Keeping these conceptualisations in mind, if we look at the figures in Table 8 what stikes us is the consistency in city population growth. During the decade 1941-51, Jaipur city experienced maximum population growth. Lucknow with about 28% growth rate was at the bottom. Other cities fell within the range of 30% to 52%.

In the next decade (1951-61), Bhopal with its adjoining areas registered a big rise of about 118%. The Cochin urban complex, Trivandrum town group and Ludhiana city grew appreciably, and others were trailing behind within the range of 32% to 45%. Lucknow's growth in both the decades has been the lowest. The final figures for the 1971 Census are yet to be published. From the provisional population totals, it can be observed (Table 8) that Bhopal has maintained its lead. Trivandrum is almost catching up with Bhopal,

followed closely by Ludhiana. Jaipur is again rising after a brief respite during 1951-61, and the Cochin complex is trying to keep up the previous growth rate. Surprisingly, Coimbatore has experienced a steep fall despite its industrial expansion. Lucknow has been consistent in maintaining the lowest position in the growth race.[10]

Sex Ratio and Age Structure:

The composition of population of the sample cities by sex ratio and age structure is highly relevant for our purposes. It can be readily observed from Table 4 that the male-female ratio is almost balanced in the Cochin urban complex and Trivandrum. The preponderance of males is noticeable in all the industrial cities irrespective of their regional locations. With the exception of Trivandrum, all the capital cities show the same feature as the industrial ones. These are, demographically speaking, male-dominated cities. A possible explanation for this phenomenon could be that these urban areas attract male workers who do not generally bring their families along. With reference to

---

10. It is admitted that due to the change in the 1971 conceptualisation, the figures of the two consuses, 1961 and 1971 are not strictly comparable.

Table 3

Sample Cities: Constituents of Town Groups

Town Group	Area (in sq. miles)	Constituents
1. Kanpur T.G.	114.54	(a) Kanpur Municipal Corporation and Railway Colonies. (b) Kanpur Cantonment, Armapur Estate and Chakeri Aerodrome
2. Lucknow T.G.	52.29	(a) Lucknow Municipal Corporation (b) Lucknow Cantonment (c) Charbagh Alambagh
3. Jaipur	25.00	Not a town group
4. Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye T.G.	31.66	(a) Ernakulam (b) Mattancherry (c) Fort Cochin (d) Edappally (e) Alwaye (f) Thrippunithura (g) Willingdon Island
5. Trivandrum T.G.	34.96	(a) Trivandrum (b) Nemom (c) Balaramapuram
6. Coimbatore	8.86	Not a town group
7. Ludhiana	7.59	Not a town group
8. Bhopal T.G.	36.57	(a) Bhopal (b) Govindpura Industrial Township (c) Bairagarh

Source: Census of India, 1961, Vol. I Part II-A(i) General Population Tables.

the cities in Uttar Pradesh, a research study observes:

"Female ratio per thousand male population in the cities is lower than the rural area in the State. It is also lower as compared to the State's sex-ratio. It is indicative of temporary immigration of male workers in the cities from rural areas". [11]

Table 4

Sample Cities: Male-Female Ratio, 1961

Cities	Ratio
1. Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye T.G.	51.76:48.24
2. Bhopal T.G.	56.46:43.54
3. Coimbatore	53.05:46.95
4. Ludhiana	54.68:45.32
5. Jaipur	53.89:46.11
6. Kanpur T.G.	57.51:42.49
7. Lucknow T.G.	55.89:44.11
8. Trivandrum T.G.	50.82:49.18

Source: Census of India, 1961, Vol. I Part II-A(i), General Population Tables, Delhi, 1964.

11. Sudha Saxena, Trends of Urbanization In Uttar Pradesh op. cit. p. 145.

Table 5

Sample Cities: Age Structure, 1961

Cities	Age-groups (in percentage)				Total
	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 and above	
Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye T.G.	39.4	34.26	21.48	4.84	100.00
Trivandrum T.G.	39.33	35.25	20.67	4.74	100.00
Bhopal T.G.	37.76	39.65	18.38	1.09	100.00
Coimbatore	37.63	36.94	21.18	4.24	100.00
Ludhiana	40.07	36.94	18.25	4.89	100.00
Jaipur	40.42	34.97	19.67	4.94	100.00
Kanpur T.G.	42.11	35.20	22.23	0.66	100.00
Lucknow T.G.	38.12	36.08	20.88	4.88	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1961, Vol. I Part II-A(i), General Population Tables, Delhi, 1964.

The age structure of the sample cities has been shown in Table 5. In this respect, inter-city variations are not very vide. Ludhiana, Jaipur and Kanpur have a sizeable population in the lowest age-group. Bhopal seems to be the most youthful city and the southern cities and the two cities of Uttar Pradesh contain considerable population in the middle age group.

2-1-73.

Functional Characteristics:

Out of the eight cities in our sample, Jaipur, Lucknow, Bhopal and Trivandrum are State capitals. Being the headquarters of State Governments, they contain most of the government offices and their branches. Naturally, therefore, the service sector is predominant in these cities, which also explains their week economic base. In this group, Trivandrum is heavily dependent on the service sector and it has the weakest manufacturing base. Jaipur and Lucknow are slightly better off with about 19% of the working force engaged in manufacturing industries and about 17% in trade and transport. Of the four capital cities, Bhopal seems to be heading towards an economy more diversified than the rest. More than half of its working force are engaged in manufacturing, construction and trade.

Although the Cochin urban complex with all its locational advantages, is attracting industries, it is rather surprising that the service sector is still dominant in this area. The impact of manufacturing, trade and transport is of moderate intensity. Only the three industrial cities of Ludhiana, Kanpur and Coimbatore have a fairly large percentage (more than 30%) of their working population engaged in manufacturing industries.

Next to manufacturing, the service sector is of substantial importance even in these cities, which highlights the general weakness of the economic base of the cities. It can be seen from Table 6 that the economic base of the three industrial cities is fundamentally the same.

In the absence of economic vitality, the sample cities are unable to provide opportunities for occupational diversification, and the unemployment rate, in consequence, is quite high in all of them. As the Trivandrum Development Plan observes, "The city is very backward in the matter of industrial development. In 1961, only about 11% of the working population were employed in the industrial sector. This indeed is a very unhealthy and undesirable character".[12] Even in the case of the predominantly industrial city of Kanpur, the situation is far from satisfactory. To quote a researcher, "it is note-worthy that the population of Kanpur increased significantly during the decade 1951-61 but industrial employment increased slightly by only 2,943 employees, from 116,429 to 119,372. Consequently, the percentage of industrial workers to total population

---

12. Op. cit. p. 7.

fell from 16.4 in 1951 to 13.1 in 1961". [13] The city is thus growing demographically without enjoying the benefit of corresponding economic prosperity. This applies equally well to all the sample cities. Unlike the situation in the developed countries, urbanisation

Table 6

Sample Cities: Occupational Classification of population (main functions), 1961

Cities	Manufacturing other than household industry	Construction	Trade and commerce	Transport storage and communication	Other services	Total	Others	Grand Total
Ludhiana	36.03	3.31	19.60	8.37	24.55	91.86	8.14	100
Kanpur T.G.	34.09	3.52	18.03	8.01	29.73	92.38	7.62	100
Jaipur	18.31	6.99	16.48	8.76	39.58	90.12	9.88	100
Cochin-Ernakulam-Alwaye T.G.	16.71	2.15	14.62	15.94	44.53	93.95	6.05	100
Lucknow T.G.	19.99	3.57	17.26	11.88	41.17	93.87	6.13	100
Coimbatore	30.11	5.18	19.37	5.92	28.32	89.90	10.10	100
Trivandrum T.G.	10.79	1.08	12.68	5.09	55.35	84.99	5.11	100

Source: Census of India, 1961.

13. S.K. Bajpai, "Industrial Structure in Kanpur", Research Unit Bulletin, No. 2, IIT, Kanpur, 1966, p. 76.

in India has not been accompanied by industrialisation and general affluence.

Spatial Growth:

It has earlier been pointed out that the 1961 Census treated some of the cities in the sample as members of a cluster called the 'town group'. In the 1971 Census, the conglomerate growth has been termed as "urban agglomeration". In recent times, all the cities in the sample have attracted the attention of their respective State Governments who are keen to call a halt to unregulated urbanisation and formulate master plans to secure their orderly growth.

The cities in our sample are fast moving out of their traditional administrative boundaries. Thus, a city like Kanpur or Ludhiana has in fact expanded beyond its municipal limits and spilled over into adjoining areas. The town planners are delineating a wider area known as the metropolitan region on the basis of certain criteria such as supply of commodities, daily commutation, distance from the city centre, and other linkage factors. For instance, the Lucknow planners would like to delineate the metropolitan region consisting of Lucknow, Malihabad, Mohanlalganj and Nawabganj tahsils. The immediate influence area of Ludhiana has

been found to be a region extending upto 15 miles on either side of the city. Kanpur region has been defined as an area comprising Kanpur, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Jalaun and Hamirpur Districts, Fatehpur District excluding Khaga tehsil, Banda District excluding Man and Karwi tehsils, and the narrow stretch of land lying to the south of Unnao and Hardoi Road of the Hardoi District.[14] Similar delineations have been made for the other cities in the sample. The inference that can be drawn from these exercises is that our sample cities are growing in particular spatial directions and these are, for all practical purposes, closely linked up with wide areas beyond their familiar administrative boundaries.

Implications for Police Administration:

What lessons do we derive from these facts about the sample cities? So far as police administration is concerned, the direction of spatial expansion of the cities has an important bearing on city police jurisdiction. The city police boundaries, both in macro and micro sense, may have to be reconsidered in the light of

---

14. Regional Perspective of Industrial and Urban Growth: The Case of Kanpur, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1969. The 'region' was delineated by the Research Cell of the IIT, Kanpur.

actual city growths and the direct 'influence area' of a city. This would mean an extension of the overall city police jurisdiction. As a corollary, the micro units, i.e. the police stations, would naturally have to be reorganised to cover the extended areas and to make adjustments in the existing police station boundaries. In most cases, the existing city police jurisdictions have been delineated piecemeal without regard for the spatial expansion of the cities and their influence areas with which the core cities are functionally, socially and economically linked.

The cities in the sample are governed locally by two kinds of municipal authorities. Out of the eight cities, five are having municipal corporations. These are the cities of Trivandrum, Cochin, Lucknow, Kanpur and Bhopal. The remaining three cities are governed by the municipalities. Except Bhopal, all of them are also district headquarters.[15] The police organisations in these cities have no relationship whatsoever with the city governments. As the providers of essential civic services, the municipal governments

---

15. Bhopal has recently been made the District Headquarter.

do, however, affect vitally the efficient operation of the police organisations. The road net-works, street lighting arrangements, building regulations are determined by the municipal authorities. City administrations are closely associated with city planning measures including removal of unauthorised constructions, redevelopments and clearance and improvement of slums. Obviously, the way these municipal functions are performed, has an important bearing on effective police functioning. From available evidence, it appears that the cities are unable to cope with the mounting civic problems generated by steady urbanisation. Slums, congestion, traffic jams, deteriorating roads and unauthorised constructions are a matter of everyday experience in all the cities. The living environment of the cities is thus creating a situation which is perhaps favourable more for the breeding of crimes than for healthy citizenship. As a noted social scientist has written almost in despair:

"The criminogenic nature of impersonal urban environment has been noted long since, but correspondingly little studied effort has been made to counteract this tendency, it being taken for granted that criminal elements and crime are a concomitant crop of urban

development".[16]

The capital cities in the sample are naturally the political centres of gravity in the respective States. All kinds of agitations, demonstrations and processions take place almost daily in these cities to attract public attention or to pressurise the governments. Besides, the presence of ministers and other state dignitaries in the capitals add considerably to police duties. The strength of police force provided to 'protect' a dignitary or to keep the onlookers at bay varies directly with the political - administrative status of the dignitary. The industrial cities have the additional feature of recurring labour-management disputes, which, not unoften, erupt into strikes, arsons and violent demonstrations. Cities like Trivandrum, and Lucknow which are also university towns, witness regular occurences of students' unrest that frequently turns into major law and order problems.

The picture that emerges out of this analysis is that the police organisations in the sample cities work in urban environments which throw up incessant challenges

---

16. Jal F. Bulsara, Patterns of Social Life in Metropolitan Areas, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1970, p. 408.

to them. The hordes of immigrants, mostly male, that come to the cities to eke out a living, the commuters from distant places, the tourists that crowd the cities like Jaipur are unknown quantities which the police can hardly ignore. Urban unemployment and poverty are, in no small measure, responsible for many of the crimes that are committed in the cities. Slums and slum dwellers constitute a universal feature of the growing cities. The subhuman conditions in which most of the slum inhabitants live, keep them out of normal urban living pattern, and the human metal is apt to be turned and twisted in unhealthy surroundings. No wonder slums and criminals have often been found to be complementary to each other. With this background of the socio-economic characteristics of the sample cities, we can now examine the actual crime pattern in them.

III

CRIME AND CLEARANCE

The purpose of this chapter is to have a quick look at the nature of crime in the sample cities, which has some bearing on the city police organisation. It is admitted that the workload of the police cannot be measured by reference to crime statistics only. Police work in relation to actual crimes is just a part - and perhaps a minor part - of the total functional load of the police. Even in a zero crime situation, police work may be quite heavy. The functions relating to maintenance of law and order, general surveillance and social service in aid of the public in a variety of situations are numerous enough to keep a police force busy round the clock.

We are not attempting to draw a total picture of city crimes. The emphasis here is on the major cognisable crimes only, which are frequently quoted to demonstrate the gravity of crime situation in a city. There is an implied assumption that a society has a limit of toleration in so far as the minor crimes are concerned. Hence, the police all over the world act on this social attitude and try to pay more attention to the major crimes, to the neglect, in most cases, of the minor ones. Since

we are concerned mainly with the typologies of micro-crimes - what specific types of crimes the sample cities are generating - we have not paid much attention to a detailed analysis of crimes over a fairly long period. Figures were collected at two points of time to find out the crime coverage and overtime growth. The years taken are 1965 and 1969 at random, which, it is admitted, does not rule out the possibility of periodic peculiarity of criminal behaviour. It needs to be cautioned that the crime data in police registry do not generally reveal the true picture of crime in any society. Many a time, for various reasons crimes are not reported at all. Also, the police may not record crimes and thereby indulge in what is called "burking of crime". Regarding large-scale non-reporting of crime in America, the President's Commission on Crime had this to say:

"An important finding of the survey is that for the Nation as a whole there is far more crime than ever is reported. Burglaries occur about three times more often than they are reported to the police. Aggravated assaults and larcenies over $50 occur twice as often as they are reported. There are 50 per cent more robberies than are reported. In some areas, only one-tenth of the total number of certain kinds of crimes are reported to the

police. Seventy-four per cent of the neighbourhood commercial establishments surveyed do not report to police the thefts committed by their employees". Because of the general tendency on the part of the public to avoid the police, comparable figures in India would be anybody's guess. The other malady that afflicts our police is the deliberate under-reporting of crime owing mainly to (i) the inadequacy of police station staff, especially investigation staff; (ii) the tendency to show low figures to prove efficiency; and (iii) dishonesty of the staff who would not entertain a complaint unless properly gratified. To quote the Punjab Police Commission:

"There is ..... no doubt that the complaint is correct that a considerable volume of crime is not registered by the police in order to keep the figures in crime low as compared to the past or to the neighbouring police station in a police station, or because of the fact that owing to the directions of the government that the work of a police station will be judged by the crime figures, this practice is resorted to and has become quite common throughout the State. Wherever the Commission has gone, there has been a general trend of opinion that the figures of crime as registered are at least 50 per cent less than the actual crime reported

in the state". [1]

This is no doubt an alarming state of affairs and one can only hope that the situation in other States is not equally depressing. The U.P. Police Commission (1960-61) had also heard similar complaints that "crime is either not recorded promptly or is not recorded at all or minimised or the behaviour of the police is not proper in the process of recording it". Apart from dishonesty of the police station staff, one important reason for the minimisation of crime is to ensure a low crime return. The U.P. Commission disliked the idea of judging the efficiency of station officers by crime statistics alone, which the Commission felt, led to a police attitude to fiddle with crime figures. On the recommendation of the Commission, the Government of U.P. took certain steps to eradicate these malpractices. An important inference that can be drawn from this is that several factors such as police efficiency and honesty, proper supervision and direction and methods

---

1. Report of the Punjab Police Commission (1961-62), Government of Punjab, Patiala, 1967, pp. 51-2. The Uttar Pradesh Police Commission had also mentioned about the under reporting of crimes. See Report (1960-61), Government of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad, 1961, pp. 68-9.

of crime registration would affect the nature and volume of crime data from place to place.

Having conceded these limitations of crime statistics, let us now examine the actual crime patterns in the sample cities. Table 7 shows the growth of crimes in these cities and the States within which they fall. With the exception of Ludhiana and Coimbatore, all the cities show positive growth rates during the period 1965 to 1969. It is quite surprising that both Punjab State and Ludhiana city had high negative rates, while down south the State of Tamil Nadu registered an increase of 14.7% but the city of Coimbatore had a remarkably high negative rate. The percentage variations in the case of Kerala and Uttar Pradesh are quite low but their cities show appreciable increase in crimes. Both Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh registered a growth rate of around 16% and their capital cities had nearly the same growth trends. All the capital cities in the sample show variations within the range of 17% to 20%, which is indicative of an equal or near equal crime increase in the State capitals. Of the industrial cities, Kanpur and Ernakulam show positive rates of growth; but the other two - Ludhiana and Coimbatore - registered negative trends. It is rather strange that industrialisation and

urbanisation, at least in these two cities, have not had any impact on the crime situation. Even in Kanpur, which is the largest industrial city in our sample, the percentage variation, although positive, is much lower than that of any of the four capital cities. A general conclusion that can be derived from this analysis is that contrary to popular belief, the rate of growth of crimes in the cities with dominant service functions is much higher than that in the predominantly industrial cities.

Crime Pattern in Sample Cities

Turning now to the types of crimes reported in the sample cities, we find (see Table 8) that murder, and kidnapping and abduction ——— which can be termed as crimes against person ——— have, comparatively speaking, a low place in the crime picture. Of the three southern cities, Coimbatore is free from both the crimes, and the remaining two cities show negligible percentages. In all the northern cities and the city of Bhopal, kidnapping and abduction cases are more numerous than murder cases. Still, the latter are limited to only 1% to 2% of the total cognisable crimes. Dacoity seems to be almost non-existent in the sample cities and robbery cases are also few. Cattle thefts, which are quite common in rural areas, occupy a very

low position in the crime patterns. But the figures are positive in all the cities, which indicates that the

Table 7

Growth of Crime in the Sample Cities and their States

State/City	Total Cognisable Crime		% Variation
	1965	1969	
A. Rajasthan State	30,177	34,996	+.15.97
1. Jaipur City	1,729	2,019	+ 16.77
B. Punjab State	79,424	48,016	- 39.5
1. Ludhiana City	1,617	1,329	- 17.8
C. Kerala State	33,325	33,405	+ .2
1. Trivandrum City	1,731	2,078	+ 20.0
2. Ernakulam City	1,328	1,579	+ 18.9
D. Uttar Pradesh State	2,17,768	2,23,587	+ 2.7
1. Lucknow City	4,064	4,511	+ 10.4
2. Kanpur City	8,326	9,248	+ 11.1
E. Tamil Nadu State	54,597	62,638	+ 14.7
1. Coimbatore City	1,369	824	- 39.8
F. Madhya Pradesh State	30,177	34,995	+ 16.0
1. Bhopal City	1,717	2,018	+ 17.5

Source: Replies to questionnaire.

urban areas do have this rural crime type. As regards riot cases, Coimbatore was free from them in both the reference years; but in the other two southern cities viz., Trivandrum and Ernakulam, riot cases showed a significant rise in 1969. Of the northern cities, Jaipur had the highest percentage of about 8% followed by Lucknow and Kanpur. Counterfeiting cases are either non-existent or almost negligible in the sample cities.

'White collar crimes' which are frequently associated with cities figure in the crime picture of our sample cities also. But these are not to be found at the same proportion in all of them. The cities of Lucknow, Kanpur and Coimbatore do, of course, show a sizeable incidence. Criminal breach of trust and cheating taken together accounted for 10%, 8% and 11% respectively of the total cognisable crimes in these three cities in 1969. The comparable figure for Jaipur and Ernakulam was about 5%. In the remaining cities, the rate was around 3%. The trend in some places such as Jaipur, Lucknow and Coimbatore is toward slow increase in the incidence of white collar crimes.

What dominate the crime picture in the sample cities are house breaking and ordinary thefts. In two cities - Lucknow and Coimbatore ——— these two crimes,

taken together, accounted for as much as 85% and 93% respectively of their total cognisable crimes in 1969. Bhopal registered 67% and Jaipur about 53%. In the remaining cities, the figures varied between 22% and 41%. For India as a whole, house-breaking and ordinary thefts accounted for slightly more than 50% of total cognisable crimes in 1969.[2] The comparable average figure for the sample cities of nearly 53% comes close to the all-India pattern.

Table 8

Sample Cities: Percentage Distribution of Crime, 1965 and 1969

City	Murder		Kidnapping and Abduction		Dacoity	
	1965	1969	1965	1969	1965	1969
1. Jaipur	0.3	0.3	2.0	1.6	-	-
2. Ludhiana	0.2	0.2	1.0	1.8	-	-
3. Trivandrum	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.6	-	-
4. Ernakulam	0.3	0.6	0.2	0.2	-	-
5. Lucknow	0.4	0.7	1.5	1.8	0.1	0.2
6. Kanpur	0.4	0.4	1.2	1.2	-	-
7. Coimbatore	-	-	-	-	-	-
8. Bhopal	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.7	-	-

Table 8 (contd.)

2. Crime in India 1969, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, 1971, p. 7.

Table 8 (contd.)

City	Robbery		House Breaking		Thefts (Cattle Cases)		Thefts (Ordinary)	
	1965	1969	1965	1969	1965	1969	1965	1969
1. Jaipur	0.7	0.6	19.2	18.5	0.6	1.0	43.0	34.3
2. Ludhiana	-	-	5.0	5.4	0.06	0.3	14.4	16.1
3. Trivandrum	-	0.3	7.8	16.3	0.5	0.6	9.2	24.9
4. Ernakulam	0.5	0.6	14.9	12.5	0.2	0.3	13.0	20.7
5. Lucknow	0.5	0.7	15.4	13.6	0.6	0.3	70.0	71.2
6. Kanpur	0.9	1.1	9.8	7.1	0.3	0.5	33.7	30.3
7. Coimbatore	0.1	0.4	27.0	19.7	1.3	1.1	65.4	73.1
8. Bhopal	0.1	0.4	17.2	21.3	1.7	0.9	50.3	45.3

City	Riots		Criminal Breach of Trust		Cheating		Counterfeiting	
	1965	1969	1965	1969	1965	1969	1965	1969
1. Jaipur	2.9	2.8	2.7	1.8	4.3	8.4	-	0.1
2. Ludhiana	0.06	0.2	1.5	2.3	1.9	1.1	-	-
3. Trivandrum	1.3	8.1	1.2	2.9	0.6	0.9	-	-
4. Ernakulam	3.7	5.3	1.6	3.5	0.3	1.1	0.1	0.5
5. Lucknow	1.0	1.5	7.0	7.2	3.4	2.3	-	0.02
6. Kanpur	1.1	1.3	3.0	6.1	3.3	3.3	0.02	-
7. Coimbatore	-	-	2.8	5.2	2.3	5.3	0.2	0.6
8. Bhopal	0.6	1.3	1.9	1.3	1.7	1.2	-	-

Note: The figures above stand for percentages to total cognisable crimes. 'Miscellaneous Crimes' have been omitted.

Comparison with Commissionerate Cities:

As pointed out in the introduction to this report, the cities in our sample are medium ones falling a step below the metropolitan cities which have the commissionerate type of police organisation. It may be worthwhile

comparing the crime statistics of the medium cities with those of the metropolitan giants. If the figures in Table 7 are set alongside those in Table 9, one can immediately notice a rather erratic nature of variation of crimes in the commissionerate cities. Possibly, the two points of time to which data relate might have some impact on the peculiar nature of crimes in those cities. Contrary to expectation, the two metropolitan complexes of Calcutta and Bombay show a decline in crime incidence during the period 1965 and 1969. In the case of Calcutta, the slump is very high indeed. In Delhi also the percentage variation is almost negligible. Ahmedabad experienced a variation of about 6 per cent only. Thus, out of the 7 commissionerate cities in Table 9, two had negative growth rates, one had almost remained static and another had a very low rise. Only two cities, namely Bangalore and Madras registered sizeable increases in crimes. In the case of Bangalore, the variation is as much as 93 per cent, while the comparable figure for Madras was 67 per cent. The only other city which had a moderate rise in the crime figures is Hyderabad. If we now turn back to the data in Table 7 relating to the growth of crime in our sample cities, one thing that strikes us is that unlike the commissionerate cities, the variation in crime situation in

the sample cities throws up some sort of a pattern. If one leaves out the two cities of Ludhiana and Coimbatore, in all other cases, the growth of crime in the cities was confined within a narrow range of 11 per cent to 20 per cent. Contrastingly, the commissionerate cities do not reveal much of a pattern in their crime situation. At any rate, the decline in crime incidence of Calcutta and Bombay and the almost static position of Delhi look rather surprising, as the figures run counter to the popular belief that our metropolitan complexes have been experiencing steady growth in crimes.

In order to study the comparative crime situations in the commissionerate cities and our sample cities, we tried to examine the percentage distribution of crimes in the commissionerate cities. In Table 8 the comparable figures for the sample cities have already been given. The micro-crime situation of the commissionerate cities has been compared with that of the sample cities for one year only, namely, 1969.

In absolute terms, the figures under 'murder' and 'kidnapping and abduction' in some of the commissionerate cities such as Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi are quite high compared to any of the sample cities. Only Kanpur and to some extent Bhopal in our

Table 9

Percentage variation of cognisable crimes in the Commissionerate Cities, 1965 & 1969

Cities	1965	1969	Percentage Variation
1. Ahmedabad	3,363	3,578	6.39
2. Bangalore	4,176	8,051	92.79
3. Bombay	26,791	25,289	- 5.61
4. Calcutta	21,080	10,801	-48.64
5. Delhi	16,216	16,254	0.23
6. Hyderabad	2,805	3,593	28.09
7. Madras	7,010	11,707	67.00

Source: Crime in India, 1965 and 1969.

Note: Two Commissionerate Cities - Poona and Nagpur have not been included in this Table, due to non-availability of statistics.

sample have some comparability with Hyderabad, Bangalore and Madras. From 'robbery' onwards, cases under all the types in the commissionerate cities are far more numerous than in the sample cities. Table 10 gives a clear picture of the contribution of each type to the total cognisable crimes in the commissionerate cities. Comparable figures for the sample cities can be found in Table 8. Apart from Ahmedabad where murder cases

Table 10

Percentage Distribution of Cognisable Crimes in the Commissionerate Cities, 1969

	Murder	Kidnapping and abduction	Dacoity	Robbery	House Breaking	Cattle Thefts	Ordinary Thefts	Riots	Criminal breach of Trust	Cheating	Counterfeiting
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Ahmedabad	150 4.19	32 0.89	36 1.0	15 0.42	239 6.68	13 0.36	867 24.23	709 19.89	95 2.66	85 2.38	3 0.08
2. Bangalore	20 0.25	14 0.17	5 0.06	30 0.37	1280 15.90	54 0.67	3887 48.28	60 0.75	261 3.24	352 4.37	6 0.07
3. Bombay	168 0.66	170 0.67	29 0.11	206 0.81	1898 7.51	64 0.25	13523 53.47	577 2.88	1093 4.32	862 3.41	32 0.13
4. Calcutta	68 0.63	139 1.29	14 0.13	52 0.48	746 6.91	22 0.20	5438 50.35	799 7.40	488 4.52	429 3.97	4 0.04
5. Delhi	75 0.46	270 1.66	1 0.01	33 0.20	1149 7.07	73 0.45	9467 58.54	86 0.53	408 2.51	455 2.80	13 0.08
6. Hyderabad	21 0.58	11 0.31	9 0.25	22 0.61	789 21.96	5 0.14	1886 52.49	217 6.04	40 1.11	52 1.45	-
7. Madras	14 0.12	60 0.51	-	4 0.03	211 1.80	52 0.44	5271 45.02	49 0.42	423 3.61	575 4.91	84 0.72

Source: Crime in India, 1969. The figures shown in decimal are percentages to total crimes (shown in Table 9).

constituted more than 4 per cent of the total crimes, in all other cities the percentage contribution of this type was less than one per cent. In all the cities, the percentage figures for a number of crimes including kidnapping and abduction, dacoity, robbery, cattle thefts and counterfeiting were very low ——— within the range of zero to 2 per cent. A few cities such as Ahmedabad, Calcutta and Hyderabad reported considerable riot cases. For Ahmedabad, the year 1969 must have been an exceptionally riotous year with about 20 per cent riot cases. Like the sample cities, the commissionerate cities had very high incidence of cases relating to housebreaking and ordinary thefts. The percentage contribution of these cases taken together ranged between 31 and 74. For all the cities, the average figure come to about 57 per cent. The comparable figure for the sample cities was about 53 per cent. Cases under 'criminal breach of trust' and 'cheating' constituted a significant portion of major crimes in the commissionerate cities. These two types taken together accounted for nearly 8 per cent of the total crime in four cities viz., Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The comparable figure for Ahmedabad and Delhi was about 5 per cent. Hyderabad had the lowest incidence in this respect.

The commissionerate cities are in general more populous urban centres than the sample cities and their influence areas are naturally far more wide. In consequence, their crime figures, in absolute terms, are higher than those generated in the sample cities. So far as the broad composition of crimes is concerned, the two classes of cities are not very much dissimilar. The dominant crime types in both are housebreaking and ordinary thefts. In respect of 'white collar crimes', also, the sample cities exhibit the trend much similar to that visible in the commissionerate cities.

Clearance and Conviction Rates:

The performance of a police force is very often judged by what is called the 'clearance rate of crimes', which is derived from the ratio between total true cases and cases in which charge-sheets are laid. The registration of crime, its investigation, and the issue of charge-sheet ——— all these processes fall within the province of police activities. From the police point of view, success is gauged by cases in which charge sheets could have been laid. The conviction rate includes an additional element ——— the role of the judiciary. Still, in the ultimate analysis police success would depend on the number of charge-sheet cases which end up

in conviction by the courts.

Table 11

Sample Cities: Clearance and Conviction Rates, 1969

	True Cases	Cases in which charge sheet was laid	Clearance rate *	Cases convicted	Conviction rate **
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
1. Ludhiana	4040	3492	86.4	1951	48.29
2. Jaipur	1834	977	53.2	386	21.04
3. Trivandrum	2078	1591	76.5	576	27.71
4. Ernakulam	1289	698	54.1	379	29.40
5. Bhopal	886	886	100.0	273	42.1
6. Kanpur	4873	1251	25.6	861	17.7
7. Coimbatore	1040	675	64.9	599	57.6

Source: Replies to questionnaire. Data about Lucknow have not been available.

* Percentage of (b) to (a)

** Percentage of (e) to (a)

Table 11 shows inter-city variation of clearance and conviction rates for total cognisable crimes during the year 1969. It can be readily observed that the clearance rate, in macro-terms, varies from city to city within the range of 26 per cent to 100 per cent.

Bhopal has the credit of securing a hundred per cent clearance rate. Ludhiana and Trivandrum have been able to achieve 86 per cent and 77 per cent clearance rates respectively, while the comparable figure for Coimbatore is about 65 per cent ——— all very high rates by any standard. Next in order of merit come Ernakulam and Jaipur with slightly more than 50 per cent clearance record. Kanpur which is the most populous city in our sample and had maximum number of true cases had the poorest clearance rate. In terms of conviction rates, the table is slightly turned. Bhopal which had cent per cent clearance record slumped down to third place conceding the first two positions to Coimbatore and Ludhiana. Coimbatore is the only city in the sample in whose case the divergence between the clearance rate and the conviction rate was not very wide. In the case of all other cities, the divergence between these two rates was quite considerable. Kanpur registered the lowest conviction rate which was in keeping with its lowest clearance rate. The wide divergence between the conviction rate and the clearance rate does show that the police have not always been able to convince the judiciary that their actions were all right.

So far as dealing with particular crimes is concerned, police attention seems to be selective. For instance, cases involving 'murder' naturally get top priority. Similarly cases relating to criminal breach of trust and cheating where considerable sums of money might be involved are generally taken up on priority basis. The intermediate zone consisting of such crimes as 'house breaking' and 'ordinary thefts' ——— which, numerically speaking, loom large in crime statistics ———/suffer from neglect for various reasons. This is true of any country. For instance, the police in Metropolitan London could clear up only about 17 per cent of burglary cases in dwellings in 1969.[3]

Table 12 shows the performance of each city in our sample in respect of clearance and conviction rates under specific crimes. The conviction rates are given for each city to demonstrate how successfully particular types of cases were dealt with upto the final stage ——— that is, the stage of judicial review and pronouncement. What has been stated earlier is borne out

---

3. Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1969, HMSO, London, 1970, p. 87.

by the data presented in Table 12. In general, the clearance rate (on the basis of charge sheets laid) tends to be higher in cases involving more important crimes such as murder, kidnapping and abduction, criminal breach of trust and cheating. The last two are economic crimes which often involve large sums of money. House breaking and ordinary theft cases are far more numerous in all places, but clearance rates in respect of these crimes are in general rather low. This is partly due to the very nature of the crimes which often prove petty and intractable; partly also the low clearance rate is due to low priority attached to them.

Out of the data presented in Table 12, an attempt has been made in Table 13 to grade the performance of each city in terms of conviction rates. In constructing Table 13, figures relating to six crimes only have been taken, the principle being to cover the more important crimes against person such as murder and kidnapping and abduction; numerically largest group of crimes such as housebreaking and ordinary thefts; and economic crimes like criminal breach of trust and cheating. City performance has been graded into four classes according as a city is able to secure a particular percentage of conviction rate. It can be seen that the performance

Table 12

Sample Cities: Total True Cases, Cases in which charge sheets were laid, and conviction cases, 1969

	Ludhiana				Jaipur				Trivandrum			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Murder	44	40	22	50.0	6	5	2	33.8	8	7	3	37.5
Kidnapping and abduction	27	20	7	25.92	20	9	-	-	12	6	1	16.66
Dacoity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Robbery	2	1	1	50.0	7	5	-	-	7	5	2	28.5
House Breaking	178	65	41	23.03	356	91	39	10.95	338	115	97	28.69
Theft (Cattle)	14	5	2	14.2	17	8	4	23.5	8	3	5	6.25
Theft (Ordinary)	446	154	91	20.4	650	210	98	15.07	517	273	194	37.52
Riots	8	2	-	-	39	26	1	2.56	169	110	38	22.4
Criminal Breach of Trust	43	31	12	27.90	26	24	11	42.0	48	37	13	27.0
Cheating	25	18	5	20.0	60	34	5	8.3	19	15	5	26.3
Counterfeiting	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	100.0	2	-	-	-

(contd..)

Table 12 (contd.)

	Bhopal				Kanpur				Ernakulam				Coimbatore			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Murder	12	6	6	50.0	36	26	15	45.5	8	7	4	50.0	5	5	2	40.0
Kidnapping & abduction	4	4	2	50.0	91	39	21	23.0	3	2	2	55.67	2	2	1	50.0
Dacoity	1	1	-	-	7	5	2	28.6	nil	nil	nil	-	nil	nil	nil	-
Robbery	6	6	2	33.3	70	34	17	24.2	9	5	1	11.1	3	1	1	33.3
House Breaking	116	116	80	68.9	621	112	87	14.0	197	195	92	46.7	210	124	123	58.5
Theft (Cattle)	5	5	1	20.0	36	15	13	36.1	4	3	2	50.0	9	9	99	100.0
Theft (Ordinary)	278	278	161	57.9	2894	444	357	12.3	327	233	133	4.07	602	351	326	54.1
Riots	12	12	2	16.6	56	28	13	23.2	84	47	5	5.6	12	9	4	33.3
Criminal Breach of Trust	16	16	5	31.3	101	41	13	12.9	56	30	6	10.7	15	12	11	73.3
Cheating	9	9	2	22.2	143	44	30	21.0	18	10	6	33.3	20	13	8	40.0
Counter-feiting	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	8	-	-	-	nil	nil	nil	-

1. True Cases
2. Cases in which charge sheets were laid.
3. Cases convicted.
4. Percentage of conviction cases to total true cases.

Table 13

Sample Cities: Performance Grading in respect of Selected Major Crimes

Crime	Conviction Rates			
	High (50% and above)	Medium (30% to 50%)	Low (15% to 30%)	Very low (Below 15%)
Murder	1. Ludhiana 2. Bhopal 3. Ernakulam	1. Kanpur 2. Coimbatore 3. Trivandrum 4. Jaipur	x	x
Kidnapping and abduction	1. Ernakulam 2. Coimbatore 3. Bhopal	x	1.Ludhiana 2.Kanpur 3.Trivandrum	x
House Breaking	1. Bhopal 2. Coimbatore	1.Ernakulam	1.Trivandrum 2.Ludhiana	1.Kanpur 2.Jaipur
Ordinary Thefts	1. Bhopal 2. Coimbatore	1.Trivandrum	1.Ludhiana 2.Jaipur	1.Kanpur 2.Ernakulam
Criminal Breach of Trust	1.Coimbatore	1. Jaipur 2. Bhopal	1.Ludhiana 2.Trivandrum	1.Kanpur 2.Ernakulam
Cheating	x	1.Coimbatore 2.Ernakulam	1.Trivandrum 2.Bhopal 3.Kanpur 4.Ludhiana	1. Jaipur

Source: Table 12.

standard of each city is rarely uniform; it generally varies from crime to crime. Coimbatore's performance stands out as the best, since it kept up its 'high' standard in four out of six crimes; and even in the remaining two the performance did not go below 'medium'. Next, in order of merit, comes Bhopal which secured 'high' conviction rates in four types and 'medium' in one, as also 'low' in one. The third place goes to Ernakulam whose performance standards are equally distributed among three classes ——— 'high', 'medium' and 'very low'. Trivandrum's performance, was confined to 'medium' and 'low' achievement rates ——— the latter being the standard in majority of crimes. Ludhiana secured 'high' position in one type viz., murder cases; but in the rest its performance has been consistently low. Of the two remaining cities, Jaipur attained all the standards except the top one. This shows the varying performance in respect of specific crimes. The other city ——— Kanpur had mostly had 'low' and 'very low' rates. The reasons for the wide variations in city performance standards are not always quite clear, as the performance of a police force raises a host of complicated issues. Yet, the figures do indicate that some cities were able to

achieve high performance standards, while others could not. Even if the reasons for variations in performance are intractable, the fact remains that high achievement rates are not outside the range of possibility.

Non-Cognizable Offences:

Before concluding this chapter, a few remarks on the other variety of offences, viz., non-cognizable ones will be in order. Every station house officer would testify that a large volume of minor offences is reported by the members of the public to the police station. These relate to a wide range of cases including eve teasing, property quarrel, minor hurt, assault and so on. As a senior police officer said, "nearly 95 per cent of the complaints recorded by police stations are of non-cognizable nature".[4] Under the Code of Criminal Procedure, if an offence is non-cognizable, the police cannot initiate investigation without an order from a magistrate. This legal position is helpful neither for the complaining public nor for the police. When an individual complainant comes to the police

---

4. S.G. Pradhan, "City Police Administration", paper presented at the Seminar on City Police Administration held at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, September 29-30, 1972.

station, he naturally expects some immediate remedial action. But, he is told instead to approach a competent court, as the police does not possess the powers to start investigation on his complaint. So far as the police is concerned, its image naturally goes down in the eyes of the complainant; and many a time, he cannot understand the niceties of law. In an urban society where interpersonal conflicts tend to be numerous, the law and order machinery must move very swiftly. The arbitrary distinction made in law between cognisable and non-cognisable offences often stands in the way of prompt action which obviously does not bring credit to the city police organisation. Even the rationale behind classification is not always quite clear. As Percival Griffiths has observed, "The fact that the police were limited in their powers of investigation to cognizable offences was to a great extent the continuation of the provisions of early laws and regulations which prevented a police officer from taking action in unimportant cases".[5] If the police has to win public confidence, the legal distinction between cognisable

---

5. Sir Percival Griffiths, To Guard My People: The History of the Indian Police, Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1971, p. 146.

and non-cognisable offences needs to be reexamined and possibly, a number of offences that are presently listed as 'non-cognizable' may have to be designated as 'cognizable'. [6]

---

6. For a discussion on other methods to deal with non-cognizable offences, see S.G. Pradhan, op. cit.

IV

ORGANISATION

The basic principles of police organisation in the sample cities are derived from the Police Act of 1861 which, with minor modifications, has been adopted by all the State governments. This explains the essential similarity in the structure of police administration in those cities. The entire police establishment in each State is constituted as one force under the administrative leadership of the Inspector-General of Police. For operational purposes, the police force is spatially distributed among the magisterial districts. Out of the eight cities under study three viz., Bhopal, Ernakulam and Trivandrum do not quite fit into the pattern, as the police forces in these three cities are distinct from the police establishments of their respective districts. An attempt has been made in these cities to carve out an autonomous police force to serve the needs of each city only. Contrastingly, the police forces in the remaining five cities are integral parts of their district organisations. Police administration in all the eight cities is, however, under the general control and direction of the involved District Magistrates ——— a provision which

has created heated debate in recent times on the question of a proper relationship between the district police chief ——— the Superintendent, and the District Magistrate. No doubt, this is an important issue in police organisation. We are, however, not concerned with the relationship between these two district level functionaries as such. Since our central focus is city police organisation, we will be touching upon their relationship only in the context of city policing.

City Police Organisations:

The first thing that strikes an observer is that all the cities in the sample including those five which have no separate status from the district organisations to which they belong, have adjusted their administrative structures to the urban ecology. The urban situation is characterised by concentration of population in limited space which gives rise to high density, congestion, and problems of circulation of traffic and transport. This peculiar habitation pattern creates special problems of policing in the urban areas. As already pointed out in Chapter II, the cities in our sample are in the grip of growing urbanisation, under the impact of which their living patterns are fast changing.

The way a separate differentiated structure of police organisation has been evolved in the five cities of Ludhiana, Lucknow, Kanpur, Coimbatore and Jaipur testifies to the definite impact of urbanisation on their police administrations. Although parts of the overall district forces, separate and identifiable police organisations have come into being in these cities in response to the peculiar urban situations obtaining in them. Since each city police belongs to the district police system, it is the district police chief - the Superintendent ——— who is placed in overall charge of the district police force including the city police force.

Obviously, this puts considerable strain on the district police chief who has to divide his time and energy between the city and the vast rural-urban tracts in the rest of the district. No doubt the charge is very heavy and it may not always be possible for the head of the district police to neatly divide his attention between the city and the district. If he looks more to the district, the city has naturally to suffer. Contrarily, if he pays more attention to the city, the policing problems of the rest of the district get less of his eyes. The dilemma is

genuine, and for this reason a modus vivendi has been found in the appointment of a police officer of sufficiently high standing as the officer exclusively incharge of the city police force. He looks full-time to city police problems and reports directly to the district police chief. The status of this officer differs from place to place. At Lucknow and Kanpur, he is of the rank of a Superintendent of Police, the district head being a Senior Superintendent of Police. At Coimbatore and Ludhiana, he is of the rank of Deputy Superintendent of Police. Jaipur is the only city in our sample which does not have any single officer exclusively placed incharge of the city police. The Superintendent of Police for the District is thus deprived of the assistance of a high level officer ——— the second in command ——— who could be the focus of responsibility for the city police problems and could report directly to the district chief. Thus, in a very real sense, the Jaipur District Superintendent is in charge of the city police force. This is a very heavy burden indeed which could have been lightened by having a single officer of sufficiently high status as the head of the city force working directly under the District Superintendent. Contrastingly, the

police forces of the three cities of Bhopal, Trivandrum and Ernakulam do not form parts of the police organisations of the districts within which they fall. The jurisdiction being limited to the city area only, the police organisation in these three cities has a superficial similarity with the structure of police administration in the commissionerate cities such as Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and a few others. In fact, the Ernakulam police chief used to be called a Commissioner, and even now the head of the police force of Trivandrum City is called the Commissioner ——— a designation which is a misnomer. In common with the head of the police of Bhopal city, the police chiefs of these two cities are really Superintendents of Police who are managing the forces exclusively within the cities under the general control and direction of the District Magistrates having jurisdiction over the entire districts including the cities. The advantage in this arrangement seems to be that the city police chief has not to bother about the policing problems of the whole district. Being in exclusive charge of the city police, he is naturally able to devote all his time and energy to the police operations within the city only. The dissimilarities between

these three city police units and the organisations of the other five cities that are inseparably linked with their district organisations, are more apparent than real. The city police forces in both the groups function under the overall control of the respective district magistrates.

City in relation to the District

Physically speaking, how does each city stand in relation to the district to which it belongs? A district is an amalgam of rural and urban areas. Spatially and demographically, the vast sprawling rural areas and the population there in the dispersed localities dominate the district scene. This applies to all the five districts containing the five sample cities mentioned above. Table 14 shows how, in terms of area and population, all the eight cities in our sample are placed in relation to districts within which they fall. So far as the districts are concerned, it can be seen that in terms of physical size these vary within a wide range of between 6000 square miles (Coimbatore) and 844 square miles (Trivandrum). With the exception of the two small Districts of Trivandrum and Lucknow, all other districts have

Table 14

Sample Cities: Comparison with District Population and Area, 1961

	District/ Towngroup or City	Area (in sq. miles)	Population (in lakhs)
Group A	(a) Trivandrum District	844.0	17.45
	(b) Trivandrum Town Group	34.96	3.02 (17.3%)
Group B	(a) Ernakulam District	1289.5	18.60
	(b) Ernakulam Town Group	31.36	3.13 (16.8%)
Group C	(a) Coimbatore District	6024.6	35.57
	(b) Coimbatore City	8.86	2.86 (8.0%).
Group D	(a) Sehore District	3607.2	7.55
	(b) Bhopal Towngroup	36.57	2.23 (29.5%)
Group E	(a) Lucknow District	968.6	13.39
	(b) Lucknow Towngroup	52.29	6.56 (49.0%)
Group F	(a) Kanpur District	2397.8	23.81
	(b) Kanpur Towngroup	114.54	9.71 (40.8%)
Group G	(a) Jaipur District	5405.2	19.02
	(b) Jaipur City	25.0	4.03 (21.2%)
Group H	(a) Ludhiana District	1323.0	10.23
	(b) Ludhiana City	7.59	2.44 (23.9%)

Source: Census of India, 1961. Figures within brackets indicate percentages of towngroup or city population to district population.

areas exceeding 1000 square miles. The Coimbatore District with about 6000 square miles and the Jaipur District with slightly more than five thousand square miles are the biggest giants spatially. The population figures of the districts fall within the range of 7.55 lakhs (Sehore) and 35.57 lakhs (Coimbatore). The Coimbatore District which is the largest of all in size also tops the list in population figure. Jaipur, the second largest District, comes second in terms of population, but considering its vast size the population figure of only 19 lakhs shows that the District is not densely populated. Same holds good of Sehore District which has a population of only 7.55 lakhs in a wide area of more than 3,500 square miles. Both the Districts in Kerala ——— Trivandrum and Ernakulam ——— are densely populated. The Lucknow District is smaller in size than Ludhiana, but it is more populous than the latter. Similarly, the Kanpur District has a smaller area than the Sehore District, but it has three times more population than the latter.

It can be seen from Table 14 that the physical area of each sample city constitutes a tiny portion of the district to which it belongs. From the standpoint of population, however, the cities with the

solitary exception of Coimbatore contribute significantly to the district population figures. The population of the Cities of Trivandrum and Ernakulam accounts for about 17 per cent of their district population. The Cities of Jaipur and Ludhiana contribute slightly more than 20 per cent to their district population. The comparable figures for Bhopal, Lucknow and Kanpur are 29 per cent, 49 per cent and 40 per cent respectively. Demographically, the two cities of Lucknow and Kanpur have sizeable shares in their district population. Only the City of Coimbatore in our sample with a paltry 8 per cent of the district population stands out insignificantly in relation to the vast area and population of its district.

Although the cities vary widely in terms of their contributions to the district populations, their socio-economic impact on the districts is considerable. All the cities contain the district headquarters where the main district offices and the courts are located.[1] As the principal urban area within the district, each city has dominating influence on its

---

1. In Chapter II, the impact of the cities on their surrounding areas has been explained.

surrounding areas. At the same time, each has developed over the years into a self-contained city with its own identity and individuality. For instance, Jaipur and Trivandrum have both extended their economic and political influence far enough, yet both possess individual peculiarities that serve to differentiate them from the surrounding areas. Again, due to technological backwardness, cities in India have remained sufficiently isolated from their hinterlands in many instances. It is small wonder, therefore, that the cities in our sample have come to develop police organisations sufficiently differentiated from the overall district organisations to which they belong.

The relation of the city with the district has important implications for city police organisation, it, therefore, needs to be discussed on a more general plane. Traditionally, Indian police organisation has generally been district-based. The reason for equating the territorial police administration with the area of the revenue district is, of course, to be found in the Imperial concept of field administration headed by the local governor ——— the District Magistrate. Originally conceived as an administrative mechanism for rural administration, district adminis-

tration has always remained naturally oriented toward the problems of rural areas. During the course of British rule, the district town gradually changed from a sleepy urban pocket to a busy administrative and commercial centre. Today, the district town serves as the nodal point of the district with all the important offices located therein, and with the transportation and communication network linking the far-flung district areas with the headquarters. Higher administrative decisions pass to the localities within the district through the district administration. Thus, the district town radiates its influence all around and it has intimate socio-economic contacts with the outlying areas. This applies equally well to a sizeable urban area which may not be always a district town. For instance, an industrial township like Durgapur in West Bengal has close physical and economic relationships with its neighbouring rural-urban areas. The point that needs to be seriously considered at this stage is: will it lead to more efficient policing if a separate police district is created for each city to the exclusion of the rest of the area of a revenue district within which the city falls? The arguments against an autonomous city police organisation have

been many. To have an exclusive, separate police force for the district town, as it has been said, is to cut off the umbilical chord joining the town with the country. Also, a large but manageable, police jurisdiction embracing the city and its direct command or catchment areas is expected to keep in step with the regional criminal geography. This point was elaborately put forward in the evidence before the Fraser Commission [2] in the context of the police organisation of Calcutta; and the Commission's recommendation to integrate the Calcutta Police with the Provincial Police Organisation was motivated by the desire to organisationally join up the city and the country. Since the submission of the Willink Commission Report [3], England has gone ahead in a big way with the formation of larger local police areas, and the same trend is noticeable on the Continent. As a sequel to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Local Government (1969), currently English local

---

2. The Indian Police Commission (1902-03), pp. 65-68.

3. Royal Commission on the Police, 1962, Final Report Cmnd 1728, London.

government boundaries are being overhauled. Since police in England is partly tagged to local government, the present changes in local government are going to affect the operational jurisdictions of the local police organisations very vitally. The main thrust of contemporary local reforms in England is toward the adjustment of local administration to the fact of close interdependence between the city and the country. [4] It has also been argued that unnecessary multiplication of police districts is apt to fragment police administration and create problems of local jurisdictions. At the moment, there are certain important common services such as the C.I.D., the Special Branch, the M.O.B., and the Armed Reserve, which are organised on district basis and are available both to the city and the district. If the city police is separately constituted, these services have also to be freshly created for the city. In fact, during our field trips to the sample cities, we came across at least one instance where, consequent on the separation of the city police from the rural areas, the problem

---

4. See Royal Commission on Local Government in England, 1966-69, vol. I, Report, London, HMSO, 1969.

of apportioning the district armed reserve was being coordination is not easy to achieve. When administrative dealt with. Operational and administrative units are irrationally increased, coordination becomes a real problem. It was observed by a District Superintendent of Police that from the point of view of personnel administration there is advantage in keeping the city and the district together. Sometimes, he could transfer his men and officers to the rural areas or vice versa. On the other hand, the advantages of an exclusive city police organisation need also to be admitted. Cities have their peculiar policing problems. Crimes, as explained in Chapter III, tend to be different both in volume and nature. Traffic regulation and planning is a typical urban problem. So are juvenile crime, and 'white collar' crime. Enforcement of social legislations relating to prohibition or vagrancy or immoral traffic in women becomes much more difficult and taxing in an urban situation. Social conflicts and group tensions tend to be more common in the cities. Above all, political agitations of all kinds are generally staged in the cities where the police often finds itself confronted with hostile groups of students, workers, partymen and so on. Because of congestion and overcrowding, even normal

police work like beat patrolling has to be organised in a city in a specialised way. All these problems highlight the need for separate policing arrangement for the cities.

In Chapter II, we have portrayed a penpicture of each city in our sample. Each has a character of its own, each has grown over the years into a populous, self-contained urban centre. We have also pointed out how the cities are interacting with their immediate hinterlands. This interaction can not be ignored by any local administrative organisation. Since a police organisation is very much concerned with crime and criminals, regulating the flow of traffic and transportation and with territorial order maintenance, its spatial jurisdiction should in principle be delineated on the basis of urban-rural integration.

What we have in mind is a city police district consisting of the core city and its neighbouring urban-rural tract which is closely connected with the urban core socially, economically and physically. It is not difficult to delineate this district area, as almost all the States are now preparing city regional plans for their major cities and have, for planning

purposes, scientifically demarcated the city-regions. We would advocate that the city police jurisdictions should, as far as possible, coincide with the planning areas delineated by the State Town and Country Planners in each case. A few more additional criteria for area demarcation would be a reasonable span of control of the city police chief, easy accessibility of the outlying areas from the core city, and the nature of transportation and communication linkages within the operational area. The normal yardstick of assessing workload with the help of crime statistics would, of course, have to be used in making the delineation. In attaching the peripheral urban-rural tracts to the core city, care should be taken to include a local authority like a panchayat or a municipality in its entirety.

Models of City Police Organisation:

When a city police jurisdiction would include a large city plus substantial rural-urban area falling within the direct influence zone of the city, the burden of police work is bound to increase and the complexities would naturally multiply. The central question that remains to be answered is: what type

of organisation —— in macro terms —— would suit best the police administration of such a city region? At home we have got two models of area police administration in this country. One is the District System with the District Magistrate as the head of criminal administration of the district and the supreme authority in regard to law and order maintenance within the district. Under this system, the district police force is an instrument placed at the disposal of the District Magistrate to fulfil the tasks entrusted to him. The District Superintendent of Police who is in direct charge of the police force is thus, in theory at least, an assistant to the District Magistrate. The other model of territorial police administration is the commissionerate which had its origin during the British regime in the three Presidency Towns of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Under this system, the District Magistrate is completely out from police administration and there is only one officer —— the Commissioner —— in full charge of the territorial police administration who naturally combines in himself the powers and functions of both the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police. Since all the Commissioners in the commissionerate cities have so

far been drawn from the rank of the D.I.G., they enjoy by delegation more financial and administrative powers than a Superintendent in the district. At the moment, the commissioner system of police administration is in vogue in eight cities viz, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Poona and Nagpur. All other cities and towns form parts of the district system. Since our sample cities fall in this category, we turn now to a discussion on the origin, evolution and current problems of the district system.

The district-based territorial police organisation headed by the Superintendent of Police placed under the general control and supervision of the District Magistrate dates back to an era when the district was almost wholly rural. Due to technological backwardness, the remote rural areas were virtually out off from the seats of Central Government.[3] Hence the purpose of district administration including district police administration was to locate the totality of 'government'

---

3. It is interesting to read the memoirs of old civil servants some of which give graphic accounts of arduous journeys from place to place on transfer. See, for instance, John Beams, Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian, Chatto & Windus, London, 1961, pp. 92-6.

in a far-flung area so that 'government' becomes easily accessible to the masses of villagers. The whole complex of what is called 'district administration' is, thus, a hang-over of low-technology rural administration. Rapid developments in the means of transport and communication have since broken the insularity of remote rural tracts; urbanisation has changed in most cases, the demographic profile of the district; and the rural areas are much more exposed to urban influences today than ever before. Politically, also, the erstwhile Imperial regime has yielded place to democratic government at all levels ——— national, state and local. It is in this context that the role of contemporaneous district administration has to be viewed. We are not directly concerned with the destiny of district administration as a whole, although we firmly believe that time is overdue to closely examine the suitability of this ancient institution which has already started disintegrating in the face of highly competitive forces and institutions. The process of transformation of 'strong' district administration into a 'weak' one commenced even during the British regime when, in the later part of the last century and the early decades of the

present, strong functional departments of the provincial governments were attempting to strengthen the vertical lines of contact between themselves and their field-level branches. By the end of the Second World War, the Rowland's Committee made the discovery that the Collector was no longer able to hold the field-level departments together and he had no control over them. To quote the Committee, "The lot of the District Officer, like that of the Comic opera policeman, is not a happy one. He is expected to see that nothing goes wrong in his District, but he has little power outside the Magistrate and Collector field to see that things go right". [4] This was bound to happen, as the more important functional departments like agriculture, education, irrigation etc., in their anxiety to achieve quicker results and, of course, to build up their insular 'empires', tried consciously to by-pass the District Officer and encouraged their field officers to have direct links with the departments. After Independence, the autonomy demand of the departments has increased manifold often due to the

---

4. Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee (1944-45), p. 18.

active encouragement of ministers who have been, as keen as the departmental heads, to uphold the supremacy of their departments. In post-Independence India, two other factors have worked to weaken district administration ——— the local politician and the new form of rural local government called the panchayati raj. As an experienced administrator puts it:

"The position of the Collector is under strain. According to some observers symptoms of a general weakening of the district administration have appeared. Functional specialisation in the wake of new planned programmes has naturally increased the burden of work. On the other hand, the emergence of the general governmental authorities at the local level has made breaches in what was traditionally an impregnable authority of the District Officer. A simple 'Unity of Command' no longer obtains. Apart from the vertical commands of the technical hierarchy, there are now the cross-commands of the elected representatives. The local pressure groups have grown in strength. The easy accessibility to the policy maker at the State headquarters has eroded the finality of the decision of the officer on the spot. It is feared by many that sometimes even in small matters the Collector has no

say. For redressal of grievances, genuine or imaginary, direct approach to the State governments through local political leaders has become easy".[5]

The new form of rural local government, panchayati raj, has thrown up a new class of local politicians demanding more powers to run the institutions in their charge. The local developmental functions have now passed into the hands of the different tiers of the new system of local government. If the local authorities govern the rural areas and the state functional departments seek to bypass the Collector, what room is there left for the traditional omnibus district administration to rule at the field level?

We do not wish to provide an answer to this loaded question. In discussing police matters, we took a long detour only to bring out the realities of the contemporary district scene. The fact remains that the concept of district administration evolved during the Imperial regime does not fit in with the

---

5. P.R. Dubashi, "Leadership Role of the Collector" The Indian Journal of Public Administration, vol. xi, No. 3, July-September, 1965.

changed politico-institutional setting of today, and district administration is naturally on the decline.[6]

Our substantive concern is city police administration. We digressed into the problems of district administration, as the district police organisation to which our sample cities belong is tied to its apron-string. The overarching authority of the District Officer at the field level has always caused problems for police administration since the passage of the Police Act of 1861. Organisationally, the police, much like the military, needs to be administered with clear lines of command and control. Once the police department had come into being, the purpose was to organise the police force under the unified command of the Inspector-General of Police aided by a hierarchy of departmental officers. The problem arose at the district level where the police function was originally an integral part of the District Officer's responsi-

---

6. See, in this connection, another interesting article which provides empirical proof of this decline, as the post of District Officer is no longer occupied by men of sufficient age and experience: P.K. Dave, "The Collector, Today and Tomorrow", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, vol. xi, No. 3, July-Sept., 1965.

bilities; the Superintendent of Police came to the district scene much later in response to the need for specialisation and to assist the District Officer in his role as policeman. Since the hegemony of the District Officer followed from the Imperial concept of field administration, the Superintendent was automatically placed under his 'general control and supervision'. There was no inconsistency in this arrangement from the viewpoint of district administration. But, from the police departmental angle of vision, there was an inconsistency. If the police had to be organised as a unified force with clear lines of command and control, the District Officer's role was palpably anomalous ——— he was a non-departmental 'outsider'. This explains the continuing misunderstanding, tension and conflict at the district level between the two officers ——— the Collector and the Superintendent of Police.

On the question of the scope of 'general control and supervision', we need not split hair. The Police Commission of 1860 had no choice but to place the Superintendent under the control of the District Officer. From the standpoint of police organisation,

however, the confusion that followed from Section 4 of the Police Act of 1861 was that the head of the district police establishment remained indeterminate. It was quite lawful on the part of the District Officer to keep a watch on district police administration and interfere, whenever necessary, in police work. But, this led naturally to the dilution of the authority of the Superintendent vis-a-vis the police force of which he was supposed to be the chief. The unity of command was certainly disturbed, which worried the Second Police Commission very much as it observed: "No unnecessary interference with the Superintendent should not be allowed. The police force, though bound to obey the Magistrate's orders in regard to criminal administration, should be kept as far as possible departmentally distinct and subordinate to its own officers". At the same time, the Commission was strongly of the opinion that "it is necessary to insist on the subordination of the police force to the District Magistrate".[7] The recommendation of the Fraser Commission was not unambiguous with the result

---

7. The Report of the Indian Police Commission (1902-03), paragraphs 122-23.

that the two district level officers had mostly to rely on their personal equations. The relationship between these two functionaries remains the same even today, as the law and the rules framed thereunder have not changed materially since 1861. Many a time, a proud Superintendent of Police would take shelter under the axiom laid down by the Second Police Commission that "though he must carry out all lawful orders of the District Magistrate, he is not his assistant in the sense in which an Assistant Collector is". But, the fact remains that legally the Superintendent is, what the Simon Commission had put very bluntly, "the District Magistrate's assistant for police purposes".[8]

The actual police powers of the district magistrate can be discussed under two broad groups: crime administration proper and police departmental administration. Originally, when the Code of Criminal Procedure was adopted the conception of district magistrate was such that the institution was a combination of a judge and an executive chief. Thus the criminal law and procedure provided for intimate

---

8. Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (1930), vol. I, Calcutta, p930, p. 287.

contacts between the magistracy and the police. After Independence with the separation of the judiciary and the executive, the conception of the district officer underwent a sea change. 'Judicial powers' per se were taken away from him and given to the judicial magistrates functioning within the State judicial system headed by the High Court. The district officer's powers today are limited to the issue of prohibtory orders under Section 144 of the Code of the Criminal Procedure and to the security sections of the Code. He possesses some miscellaneous powers in relation to closure of investigation, expunction of offences, conduct of magisterial inquests and disposal of unclaimed property. Under special Acts, he enjoys certain regulatory and licensing powers connected with arms and explosives, traffic and transportation, entertainments, etc. Also he receives from the Superintendent a number of reports and returns some of which are for his own consumption, for the rest he generally acts as a post office for onward transmission to higher officers.

The District Magistrate has some other important powers by means of which he can exercise direct control over the police force. These powers differ from State to State. For instance, in Punjab the

District Magistrate is authorised to approve posting, removal etc. of the officer in charge of police stations. In Kerala, the District Magistrate forwards a special confidential report to the Inspector General of Police on the work and conduct of the Superintendent of Police. The weekly Report of the Superintendent is routed through the District Magistrate. In Uttar Pradesh, the transfers of Station House Officers are effected in consultation with the District Magistrate. The Madhya Pradesh Regulations make it obligatory on the part of the Superintendent to comply with the orders and instructions of the District Magistrate. Certain papers have to pass to the Deputy Inspector General of Police through the District Magistrate, who is also empowered to inspect station houses and suggest to the Superintendent transfer of sub-inspectors from one station house to another. In Tamil Nadu, the District Magistrate has a say in the matter of confidential reports of Gazetted officers, and probationary inspectors and inspectors in the promotion list. The writing of the confidential report on the Superintendent of Police seems to have been the most delicate problem. Fortunately, in most States, this practice is on its

way out and the general pattern is for the Range D.I.G. to initiate the confidential report which is forwarded to the Inspector General. The idea here is to deal with performance appraisal departmentally. Sometimes, of course, the Divisional Commissioner or the Collector is asked to make comments on the work of the Superintendent.

The current trend in police-magistracy relationship is clearly toward substantial independence of the Police Superintendent of the District Magistrate. The reasons for this is not far to seek. We have travelled a long way from the Imperial concept of a strong District Magistrate ruling over the destiny of the departments and the district. As mentioned earlier, the police department, because of the very nature of the job, has tended to become more and more specialised, diversified and inwardlooking. It has now a hierarcy of officers from the field to the headquarters who try to communicate only among themselves. Police radio network and other communication facilities have made it possible to transmit information, orders or advice to departmental officers very quickly without the intervention of 'outsiders'. Even we heard, during our field trips, of direct ministerial

interference in police operations in the districts. The new band of all-India police officers at the helm of affairs are, in general, intellectually of a fairly high calibre, who are often overzealous to flaunt their competence and individuality. Not infrequently, therefore, the misunderstanding that takes place between the District Magistrate and the Superintendent can be explained by principles of human relations rather than by law or regulations.

Not sure of their own ground, the District Magistrates are actually playing a very minor role presently in police affairs. What is actually happening now is that the District Officers are, in general, withdrawing themselves from police affairs leaving the police organisation almost wholly to the police departmental officers. The reports or returns that they receive from the Superintendent have become a routine affair and whatever job they are legally compelled to do in relation to district police, these are done in a routine fashion. Unless there is some serious event which has the potentiality to stir up public passion and create political complications, the District

Magistrate tries in general to play safe.[9]

The Commissionerate System:

The duality involved in the district system is replaced by the unity of command under the commissioner system with the commissioner enjoying both police departmental powers and magisterial powers. During the British regime, the separation of the judiciary and the executive was done in the three Presidency Towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras by instituting the Presidency Magistrates who were entrusted with judicial powers and functions per se. All other police powers which were essentially executive in nature were given to the Police Commissioners. Thus, in so far as the control of the city police force and criminal

---

9. As one Collector writes, "The question naturally arises: how much time does a District Magistrate spend daily on law and order problems in mid-nineteen sixties in Rajasthan. The answer is 'not so much'." See A. K. Roy, "The Collector in Different States —— Rajasthan", The Indian Journal of Public Administration, vol. XI, No. 3, July-Sept. 1965. Also the Madhya Pradesh Police Commission (1965-66) observes: "The work of the District Magistrate has enormously increased and they are now fully occupied in development and other activities. They have thus little time to devote to the inspections of police and to attend to their routine correspondence", Report, p. 123.

administration of the city were concerned, the commissioner was made all powerful; he had no District Magistrate above him to look to for supervision or guidance. Since the commissionerate towns were the seats of Presidency governments, the commissioners were naturally to function carefully under the watchful eyes of the 'home' governments. Before Independence, the commissioner system was introduced in the city of Hyderabad in 1939. After Independence the system was extended to two other cities viz., Bangalore and Ahmedabad. In 1965 the cities of Poona and Nagpur have also been converted into commissionerates.

The Commissioner of Police in all these places is directly and exclusively responsible for the maintenance of law and order. He makes rules for the regulation of traffic and preservation of order in public places. He has the powers to prohibit carrying of arms and explosives and public singing, and to disperse assembly of persons by use of force under Section 129 Cr. P.C, and he exercises powers of magistrates under Section 130 of the Code. He grants licences for arms and sanctions prosecution for offences under the Arms Act, and issues and renews licences for public conveyances. Powers relating to control

and regulation of places of public amusement, use of loudspeakers, processions and public meetings are also vested in him. These are broadly the powers of the Police Commissioner which, of course, vary marginally from State to State. What is striking is that the commissioner exercises almost all the executive powers relating to law and order and other allied matters which are normally entrusted to the District Magistrate in a district situation.

From the managerial point of view, the commissioner system has much to commend itself. Since the entire police force is placed under the charge of a single chief, there is no confusion about the focus of authority. Unity of command follows from this, which is also conducive to discipline in the force. Since all the relevant powers are concentrated in a single functionary, there is hardly any room for divorce between authority and responsibility. As a corollary, if anything goes wrong, it is easier to fix the responsibility. In both law and order management and crime control, the system naturally facilitates quick decision and swift action. If a built-in arrangement could be made to ensure public accountability of the police commissioner ——— a vital

problem that needs serious consideration ——— there should not have been any rational ground for opposing the extension of the commissioner system to as many places as possible. As it always happens in a pyramidal organisation with a single head, the commissioner system is, of course, a gamble in one man. The system demands of a single person so much in terms of dynamism, leadership, public relations and overall competence. The success of the commissionerate ultimately depends on the calibre of the commissioner.

Choice in a Bigh City Situation:

Of the two models of territorial police administration ——— the district system and the commissionerate which would suit best the urban areas of about the size of our sample cities? Alternatively, is it possible to devise any other new system of city police administration. These questions are central to our study. It needs to be reiterated that the cities in our sample are fast developing into major urban areas. In terms of population, as per the latest census (1971) Kanpur is the eighth most populous city in India. Lucknow occupies the eleventh place and Jaipur thirteenth. Jaipur's population has risen

to 6.13 lakhs, and the figures for Lucknow and Kanpur are 8.26 lakhs and 12.73 lakhs respectively. The remaining five cities are either moving close to 4 lakhs or have just crossed the figure. We have earlier suggested formation of city police districts consisting of the core cities and their direct influence areas. On this basis, a police district with a big city like one of our sample cities and its peripheral urban-rural tracts would have a population figure within the range of 6 to 13 lakhs. A number of Police Commissions after Independence has discussed inter alia the policing problems of larger urban complexes. Notable among these are the Bihar Police Commission (1961), the Uttar Pradesh Police Commission (1960-61), the Maharashtra Police Commission (1964), and the Delhi Police Commission (1966-68).

The Bihar Police Commission attempted to break new ground by suggesting modified police commissionerates for the cities of Patna and Jamshedpur. To quote the Report, "It is not the intention of the Commission to recommend any material change in the powers vested in the District Magistrate of Patna under the Code of Criminal Procedure for supervision of criminal administration or in respect of such other powers that

he enjoys under that Code. The Commission desire that the Commissioner of Police should exercise certain (i) regulatory, (ii) restrictive and (iii) licensing powers as enjoyed by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta". [10] A Study Team of the Uttar Pradesh Police Commission visited Bombay to see at first hand the actual working the Police Commissionerate in that city. The purpose was to examine if the same system of policing could be extended to Kanpur. At the end of their visit, the Team suggested that "the Bombay system of policing should be introduced in the cities of Kanpur and Lucknow". The Commission, however, did not accept the suggestion on two grounds. First, Kanpur is away from the capital which would mean remote control of the government over the commissionerate; and secondly, there are rural areas around Kanpur which can not be separated from the city . [11]

The next Commission to speak approvingly of the need for unified control of the police force in big cities was the Maharashtra Police Commission, which

---

10. Report of the Bihar Police Commission (1961) Patna, p. 66.

11. Report of the Uttar Pradesh Police Commission (1960-61), Allahabad, 1961, p. 38.

recommended the establishment of police commissionerates in the two cities of Poona and Nagpur.[12] It is the Delhi Police Commission which examined in considerable details the intricate organisational problems of big city policing. Strongly favouring the introduction of the commissioner of police system in the big cities including Delhi, the Commission observed:

"..... in the big cities the law and order situation moves with such rapidity that only an officer who has all branches of police under him, i.e. intelligence, preventive and corrective, can properly judge what action is needed to suit a particular situation. This knowledge must be first-hand and the judgment must not be based on the views expressed by others. Such occasions require quick decisions, taken on the basis of intelligence already available and full knowledge of the areas, the type of people who would be involved, and firm and quick implementation of such

---

12. Summary of Recommendations of the Maharashtra State Police Commission, 1964, Government of Maharashtra, p. 1. It has been reported that the Assam Police Commission (1972) has recommended the introduction of the Commissioner System of policing for the city of Gauhati.

decision. If at such time, consultations have to take place between two authorities and if one has to wait for the other to decide and the latter has to wait for the assistance from the former before he takes the decision, on most occasions there would be delay and the situation would go out of control. Moreover, any successful executive action depends on the availability of the force and its capability. Only the Police Chief can have full knowledge of the availability, and only he can properly judge their capability in various situations. Many considerations, communal, political, etc. arise in serious situations, and unless the Chief knows how the minds of him men may be influenced by any particular situation, he can never confidently utilise the force to meet the challenge. The Commission also feels that there are many branches of police work in which only the police are involved. One of them is the handling of traffic in a big city, a problem which assumes increasingly larger proportions. Indeed, in many of the western cities the problem of traffic has outstripped all other problems. In this work, the Police alone can function, and any interference by any other authority will cause delay ending in dislocations. Similarly, in the investigation

of crime or in preventive work, the police functions can hardly come under the scrutiny of anybody else. Even where large friendly crowds have to be handled, the Police Chief will be able to do it much better because of his long experience of handling crowds. The Commission also feels that of all Government departments, the police requires public cooperation the most in their day-to-day work. In fact, without public cooperation the police cannot move a single step. To get this cooperation, the police must also be in a position to help the people in many ways. This help can, at present, come only from the District Magistrate. The relationship of reciprocity is, therefore, non-existent in police-public contacts. This will be remedied when the Head of the Police is invested with licensing and regulatory powers. From the result of its study of the Commissioner of Police system in operation in the three Presidency cities of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay and also in the cities which have during the last five years changed over to this system, the Commission is convinced that by making the police completely responsible for all their actions it will be possible to release a great deal of their dormant energy and initiative and place

them in a much more responsible frame of mind which would lead to a markedly more honest and efficient performance of their work". [13]

We do not wish to look at the problem of city police organisation as one of district system versus commissioner system. Organisational reform presupposes certain goals and objectives which are sought to be achieved through reform. The major goals of city police reform are two: raising of operational efficiency and improving popular image of the police. The present study starts with the assumption that police organisations in medium-size cities, which are growing steadily under the impact of urbanisation, are defective both performance-wise and image-wise. Organisational inefficiency or efficiency is an exceedingly complex phenomenon, and any attempt to discover causality with the help of one or two handpicked factors is bound to be arbitrary and unscientific. Broadly speaking, the defects of contemporary police organisation in the growing urban areas can be traced

---

13. Report of the Delhi Police Commission (1966-68), Vol. I, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, pp. 132-3.

to the present design of the macro-structure and to micro-organisational problems. Our search for a model organisation is really directed toward macro-structure. In the next chapter we propose to take up micro-organisational issues.

Basically, the shortcomings of the macro-structure follow from the duality involved in the present district system of policing under which our sample cities fall. Even if this system could be supported in a rural situation where the imperatives of land revenue administration might compel the retention of the collector - superintendent duet, its utility in a big city situation is certainly suspect. In a major urban complex, police decision-making process has to be such that the emergent problems can be watched and examined from a single point in the organisation and actions taken as swiftly as possible. Because of splintering of authority between two functionaries, the district system has a built-in tendency toward indecision, delay and vacillation. The system that we have inherited from the imperial past has hardly any parallel anywhere in the world. Instead of trying to correct the structure, the general trend of thinking in this country has been to treat the

problem as a mere clash of personalities. We have had enough evidence of continuing conflicts and misunderstanding between the collector and the superintendent in a number of cities. Whenever anything goes wrong, each tries to shift the onus onto the other. In one State, the rumblings at the district level had their reverberations even at the highest level where the Inspector-General of Police and the Home Secretary went on corresponding interminably over the issue of a proper delineation of authority between the collector and the superintendent. Often, the conflicts and tensions between these two officers are made out to be a clash of interests between two all-India services - the IAS and the IPS. Whatever be the reasons for the conflicts, these do not bring any credit to either of the two district level officers, and ultimately it is public interest that becomes a casualty. There is no point in sermonising that the two should live together as good Samaritans. We are convinced that the malady is curable only through structural reform. The present diarchy stands in the way of organisational streamlining at the city level where changes are most needed. So long as the statutory relationship between the two district level functionaries remains as it is,

it will be difficult to post an officer of a higher rank than the superintendent as the city police chief. From the functional police point of view this is an extremely unhappy situation. The anomaly can best be explained with the help of an illustration. The city of Nagpur, which was converted into a Commissionerate in 1965, has got an exclusive police force headed by a D.I.G. who is assisted by 3 Deputy Commissioners, 5 Assistant Commissioners and some Inspectors and other subordinate staff. The city of Kanpur, which has more population and generates considerable crime, is tagged to the district police system. Its police force is headed by a Superintendent whose supporting staff is much less than what the D.I.G. in Nagpur possesses. From the point of view of efficient policing, Kanpur needs an experienced officer of the rank of a D.I.G. with adequate powers and resources. But this cannot happen so long as the police-magistracy relationship continues on the traditional idea of magisterial hegemony.

As we have explained earlier, the role of the collector as the head of criminal administration in the district is a myth. Actually, he finds little time to devote to police matters and in fact he has,

in most cases, withdrawn himself from this field, unless of course he is compelled to take interest because of the imperatives of specific situations. In the cities where policing problems are far more numerous and complex, it will perhaps be a great relief for the collectors, if the statutory responsibility of overseeing the police work is abrogated. The present system leads to unnecessary wastage of quality manpower. Where one high level officer was enough, the system has provided for two.

While describing the main features of the two systems of policing, we have earlier explained the powers of the collector in relation to police administration in the district system. A close look at them will make it clear that almost all of these are essentially police powers which should logically be vested in the police officer in charge of a territorial force. It is precisely for this reason that these powers have been given to the commissioners of police in the commissionerate cities. There is no earthly reason why the very same powers cannot be conferred on the police chiefs of our sample cities. Once this is done, it will be much easier to pin the police chief down for any lapses in operations, as he would

not then be able to take shelter under the argument that he lacked necessary powers to deal with the situation. We have, therefore, no hesitation in recommending that all those powers which are exercised by the commissioner of police in a commissionerate city and which are presently vested in the district magistrates having jurisdictions over the cities should be given to the chiefs of police in our sample cities. The next question which needs to be answered is: what will then happen to the district magistrate? Will he be completely dissociated from the city police organisation?

Problem of Accountability:

This question raises the broader issue of police accountability. One important reason for attaching the area level police force to the district magistrate during the British regime was to ensure the accountability of the force to the local representative of imperial government. Under the general canopy of Imperialism, the status of district magistrate was unquestionable. How can it be justified in contemporary India within an overarching framework of democratic government? District administration headed by the

district magistrate intimately affects the lives of millions of people in rural India, yet it has no direct mandate from the area level populace. From the democratic point of view, there is hardly any choice between the district magistrate and the superintendent of police. Both are civil servants ruling over local areas without any popular mandate from the localities. It is immaterial, therefore, to discuss whether the district magistrate should have overall control over the police force or not. At the moment, legally speaking, the district magistrate is an integral part of the police organisation. At the same time, he is often asked by the State governments to conduct inquiries into police firings etc., which is wrong in principle. His position in this regard will be unassailable only when he dissociates himself completely from the territorial police organisation.

What concerns us most is the mechanism for ensuring popular accountability of the city police force, as distinguished from bureaucratic accountability, in order that the localities that are directly affected by police operations should have some voice in local area police administration. In suggesting an institutional design for this purpose, we are inclined

to accept the district magistrate as one of the many important area level interests that could be gathered together in a common forum to promote healthy relationships between the city police organisation and the dominant local interests.

In our parliamentary system of government, the entire police force of a State functions under the overall charge of a Minister who is accountable to the Legislature. Although the problem of democratic accountability is thus solved in principle, under the existing system the territorially based police forces have hardly any formal link with the people of the localities they serve. We, therefore, envisage a city police organisation that would have statutory relationship with the important local interests within the city police district. We are bringing in a concept of a city force working in close cooperation with the popular and other dominant area interests; it is different from the concept of local force as in the United States of America or in some of the cities of West Germany. The incidence of police operations is peculiarly local. It is a city or a village which is a consumer of the police services. The police operations directly impinge on the local residents.

It is, therefore, just proper that the residents of the different localities should have some voice in the administration of the locally stationed police. The principle of local accountability of the police force is accepted all over the world, but its modalities differ from country to country. In the United States of America, the principle gets expression in the organisation of the municipal police force. This, of course, does not suit our police force which is organised as a state force. In England, the police organisation, to quote the Willink Commission, is "based on local forces, and administered by partnership between Central and local government". [14] The question of accountability of the English constable is so elusive that only England can live with such a state of affairs. To quote an authority:

"He (the Constable) holds office under Her Majesty. But he is not quiet, it seems, a servant of Her Majesty or of the Crown. Outside the Metropolis

---

14. Royal Commission on the Police, 1962, Final Report, Cmnd 1728, London, p. 46.

he is employed by a local authority who appoints him, and until 1964 might dismiss him. Yet he is not .... the servant of his police authority and is in no way answerable to them for the manner in which he keeps the peace. His powers are 'original, not delegated'. They are exercised by him in virtue of his office, and unless he is acting in execution of a warrant lawfully issued, they can only be exercised on his own responsibility. When he exercises them no Minister is directly responsible to Parliament for the results in quite the same manner as for other executive officers.

"All this adds upto a curious theory. The implications which have been drawn from it ascribe to police officers an independence and freedom from control unique amongst officials exercising executive functions". [15]

The position is, however, not so hazy in Greater London where the relationship between the Home Secretary and the Metropolitan Police Commissioner is such that it is "the Secretary of State's sphere to prescribe and enforce general principles, and the Commissioner's sphere to apply them to individual

---

15. Geoffrey Marshall, Police and Government, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1965, p. 16.

cases, subject only to his general accountability to the Secretary of State as Police Authority".[16] In some Continental Countries such as Holland and West Germany, the Mayor of a city keeps an overall watch on the city police force. This model of accountability is difficult to work in a situation where the Mayor belongs to a particular political party and the central government is in the hands of some other political party.

Since we are not favouring the constitution of local police forces, none of these models really helps us. The principle that we have enunciated earlier is one of close association with the local interests and not one of local control. To the extent continued association would be able to exert decisive influence on the city police organisation, the element of control could be indirectly smuggled in. To be precise what we mean is that in addition to the State government, there are other 'governments' operating in the local areas which have struck roots in the localities and are drawing their sustenance from the local

---

16. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

communities. In addition, a city usually has a number of important public and semi-public institutions with whom the police organisation might with profit be in touch. We do not think that any purpose will be served by retaining the overlordship of the Collector under Section 4 of the Police Act. We propose instead a permanent statutory City Police Authority consisting of the mayors and presidents of municipal authorities falling within the jurisdiction of a city police district, the chairman of the involved zila parishad, the chairmen of panchayat samitis included in the police district, the District Magistrate, or his nominee, the president of the local bar council and a few important public men from within the jurisdiction of the city police district to be nominated by the government. The exact membership of the police authority would depend on the spatial jurisdiction of a city police district. The chairmanship of the proposed city police authority should go to the mayor/president of the municipal authority of the city. The next important consideration is: what should be the powers and functions of the police authority? Obviously, this is a very tricky question. In view of the highly centralised character of the police department,

the police authority's powers have to be thought of in purely local terms. The main purpose of the constitution of the police authority is to make the local police more responsive to local needs. The head of the city police organisation must feel it duty bound to regularly consult the localities so that local problems have not to travel upto the highest quarters for redressal. Keeping these general purposes in mind, the powers of the police authority may be confined to seeking regular information from the head of the city police; hearing reports, at regular intervals, of police operations; listening to public complaints against the police which would be referred to the city police chief for enquiry and action; suggesting changes in police operations to suit peculiar local needs; and finding out ways and means for closer and more cordial police-public relationship. In exceptional circumstances, the Committee should have the right to write to the Home Minister through the Inspector General of Police. The chief of city police shall be member-secretary of the Committee.

This is, obviously, a very rough sketch of an organ of public opinion which is badly needed in our

cities to bridge the gulf between the police and the public. If the principle is accepted, it is not difficult to work it out in some more details. We are convinced that some such institution is necessary at the local level everywhere including the existing metropolitan cities having the police commissioner system. It will provide a forum for the public criticism and appraisal of local police operations without which the police in the distant localities is bound to remain insensitive to public opinion. The representation of local authorities like municipal corporations or zila parishads on the proposed police authority will bring the district police organisation in closer contact with the local representative bodies. Most of the local services provided by a local authority such as street lighting, roads, local planning and development have important bearing on police operations. The municipal authorities often complain of lack of police help and cooperation in their drive for removal of unauthorised constructions and similar other activities. The proposed police authority will provide permanent meeting place for exchange of ideas among sister organisations at the local level

and for ironing out differences among them. In his turn, the city police chief can draw the attention of the local bodies, through the police authority, to the provision of specific local services that would facilitate better policing of the areas. Apart from these operational benefits, the police authority idea, if accepted, will greatly help in improving the public image of the police through regular contacts with local public institutions and interests.

V

MANAGEMENT

Broadly speaking, the police organisations in the sample cities present a uniform pattern. In the three cities of Ernakulam, Trivandrum and Bhopal, the Superintendent of Police heads the organisation and he is assisted by a number of supporting staff. This holds good for the other cities also. The type of supporting staff, however, differs from place to place. The Superintendent occupies a key position in the management structure. On his planning and managerial ability depend the optimum utilisation of resources, proper deployment of manpower, and the ultimate success of police operations. Surprisingly enough, this key managerial role of the Superintendent is not always realised. In no city police organisation is there a high-level planning staff who could assist the Superintendent in evolving alternative strategies for police operations. The cities are throwing up various problems relating to crime, traffic, law and order and public relations. It is necessary therefore that the city police chief should not only run the organisation as a day-to-day problem but also think ahead,

analyse the rising problems like traffic management, crime control and order maintenance, and gear the organisation to the new tasks. This planning function is at the moment going by default and we would urge that the city police chief must have a planning cell consisting of a few hand-picked superior staff who would study the city police problems continuously, try out new methods of policing, evaluate the existing techniques and keep a constant watch on operations with a view to achieving newer and better policing systems.[1] It may be mentioned in this connection that both on the Continent and in England, the police forces have been constantly evaluating their methods of operation in order to improve upon the existing ones.

Manpower:

Availability of adequate manpower resource is a condition precedent for good policing. The sample cities vary widely in this respect. Table 15 shows their comparative police strength in 1969. Of the three most populous cities in the sample viz, Kanpur, Lucknow and Jaipur, Kanpur's position is the worst in terms of manpower, and Jaipur's is the best. In fact, Jaipur occupies the 7

1. When we are using the word 'city' in this chapter and later, we mean by it both the city and its immediate rural-urban hinterland.

Table 15

Sample Cities: Strength of Police Forces 1969

City	Total Force	Estimated Population (in lakhs)	Proportion of people to policeman
1. Ludhiana	380	4.5	1184:1
2. Jaipur	3,468	6.1	176:1
3. Lucknow	1,490	8.0	537:1
4. Kanpur	1,407	12.7	903:1
5. Bhopal	1,557	4.4	283:1
6. Coimbatore	356	3.4	955:1
7. Trivandrum	2,023	4.0	198:1
8. Ernakulam	1,781	5.9	331:1

Source: Replies to Questionnaires from City Police Authorities.

first rank among all the eight cities. The data in Table 15 also reveal the acute shortage of manpower in relation to population in the three cities of Kanpur, Ludhiana and Coimbatore. Inadequate police manpower adversely affects the police-people ratio and the city's protection against crime and other offences. It is not possible to suggest a standard

police force for a city keeping in view an optimum police-people ratio. The cities, as shown in Chapter III, vary in crime generation. Also, our crime statistics are far from reliable. Each city has to evolve its own optimum police-people ratio on the basis of its peculiar needs and conditions. Still, on the strength of available facts, it can be said that except Jaipur all the cities in the sample are understaffed.[2] This raises the question of techniques of manpower provision which is currently being done mainly on the basis of crime figures. We did not study the problems of manpower planning in depth, but we strongly feel that the concerned State Police Authorities should devise more appropriate formulae for manning the city police organisations including such additional criteria as manpower requirement for crowd control and processions and demonstrations, administration of various social legislations, public relations and civic services, and so on. What we are insisting on is that the manpower requirements

---

2. The inference is drawn from data in Chapter III on Crime and Clearance.

of city police forces have to be more rigorously and scientifically estimated keeping in view the manifold demands on the police in the urban situation, and the indices for manpower provision would be radically different from those applicable to a rural situation. It is our hunch that the present strength of the city force in almost all the cities which are tagged to the district system is estimated on the same criteria as are applied to rural policing. At best, some improvisations have been made here and there, but no conscious attempt seems to have been made to equip the cities with requisite manpower from the viewpoint of urban policing needs. In regard to manpower provision, the concern for quality should be as important as that for quantity. In fact, quality staff goes a long way to help reduce quantity.

Territorial Units

Police organisations in all the eight cities have two basic territorial units for the purposes of ground level operations. These are the police station and the circle. The "circle" usually consists of two to three police stations and the general practice is to post a Circle Inspector to coordinate and supervise the work of the police stations falling

within the circle. Occasionally, the Circle Inspector would himself take direct operational charge if the situation so demands. But the main purpose of having a Circle Inspector is to ensure proper supervision, guidance and coordination of ground level operations. He is the link between the basic unit of police work, i.e., the police station and the city police chief.

The location of an intermediate officer between the city police chief and the police station raises problems of administrative decentralisation and coordination. In recent times, there has been criticism against the Circle Inspector whose raison de'tre in the organisational set-up has been questioned. For instance, the Utter Pradesh Police Commission (1960-61) recommended the abolition of the post of Circle Inspector mainly on the ground that "the control exercised by the Circle Inspector over the subordinate police is not satisfactory". [3] The real difficulty with this intermediate functionary is that he is supposed to do supervisory duties for which he is not

---

3. Report, op. cit., p. 25.

properly trained. Police station being the backbone of police work, its supervision if it has to be taken seriously, calls for high calibre, ripe experience and mature leadership qualities. In most cases, what actually happens is that the Circle Inspector having no definite role in operation and without effective superior control over him, floats in the organisational set up. The present city police organisations do not try to structurally link up the police station with the city police chief via an intermediate supervisory level. Normally, the police station functions in its routine way, the Circle Inspector drifts at the middle and the higher supervisory staff close to the city police chief would at best stir up from somnolence in emergencies and exceptional situations. It needs hardly any emphasis that the organisation is not conducive to efficient operations. To remedy this situation, we would advocate the location of higher level supervisory personnel at the circle level with definite duties and responsibilities and having direct link with an apex wing at the headquarters in charge of all field operations relating to crime, law and order and traffic. What we are envisaging is a Field Operations Directorate at the headquarters just below the city police chief

which will direct and keep in constant touch with all ground level operations in relation to criminal investigation, order maintenance including patrol duties and traffic regulations. The choice of having an intermediate supervisory unit like a circle would depend on the spatial spread of the city and the number of base units —— the police stations. For instance, the logic of the Divisional System between the Sub-division and the New Scotland Yard in Metropolitan London can be traced to the vast size of the Metropolitan District. Similar arrangements are found in the major West German cities such as Frankfurt. In all these instances, the intermediate functionary plays a very vital role in the coordination of the base units. This becomes possible because of substantial delegation of powers from the city police chief to the intermediate level officer, such as the Divisional Commandant in London, who is a very senior officer. In fact, the areal division of our metropolitan cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi into districts each headed by a Deputy Commissioner or a Superintendent has much in common with the divisional system of London. Similar areal decentralisation may not be necessary in a compact city of about 3 to 4 lakhs inhabitants. In our sample, the cities of Lucknow, Jaipur and Kanpur have

reached a size when it may be worthwhile to apply to them the district system of decentralization on the model of the commissionerate cities. Other cities, if their jurisdictions are not extended, may not have even the circle system as at present. For, officers from the proposed Central Field Operations Directorate can well keep a close watch on ground level operations through visits and inspections and wireless contacts.

The Police Station

The structure of the basic unit of city police organization ——— the police station ——— needs to be examined in details.

The number of police stations varies from place to place. The minimum number is at Ludhiana (5), while Lucknow has the maximum number of police stations (14).

The average population serviced by a representative police station in the sample cities varies between about 60,000 at Ernakulam to 100,000 at Kanpur. The police stations at Kanpur, Ludhiana and Jaipur have, on an average, to cover very large population. The figure is also quite high in the case of Lucknow and Coimbatore.

The police station at Bhopal, on an average, has to serve the maximum area (57 sq. km.). The average area served by a police station at Trivandrum (33.4 sq. kms.)

and Ernakulam (23.14 sq. kms) is also not insignificant. Of all the cities, Ludhiana has minimum area per police station (5 sq. kms.).

The police stations are manned on an average by 1.9 officers and 66 men at Trivandrum to 2.6 officers and 90.4 men at Ludhiana, 11.33 officers and 161.6 men at Bhopal, 2.6 officers and 35.3 men at Coimbatore, 2.0 officers and 64.9 men at Ernakulam, 13.3 officers and 135.5 men at Kanpur, 10.9 officers and 91.6 men at Lucknow and 13.0 officers and 109.1 men at Jaipur.[4] The officers-men ratio is low particularly in the three southern cities and at Ludhiana. As regards average number of men per police station, the police stations in these very cities have less men per police station than the others. Lucknow also suffers in this respect. The details are given in Table 16.

It appears that the organisation of police stations differs from city to city. Especially, the population coverage of the police stations shows considerable variations. Thus, Kanpur which is now a million plus city in the latest census (1971) has only 9 police

---

4. The officers are defined as police personnel above the rank of Head Constable.

Table 16

Average Population Served, area covered, number of officers and men per station, 1969

City	No. of Police Stations	Average Population served per P.S.	Average area per P.S. (in sq. km.)	Average No. of Officers per P.S.	Average No. of men per P.S.
Trivandrum	8	45966	33.40	1.9	66.0
Ludhiana	5	80000	5.00	2.6	90.4
Bhopal	9	49158	57.00	11.3	161.6
Coimbatore	7	51025	16.80	2.6	35.3
Ernakulam	10	45777	33.14	2.0	64.9
Kanpur	9	100000	14.84	13.3	135.5
Lucknow	14	55745	10.51	10.9	91.6
Jaipur	8	76643	14.60	13.0	108.1

Source: Filled in Schedules received from City Police Authorities.

stations, whereas Bhopal with almost half this population has the same number of police stations. Ernakulam which is slightly more populous than Bhopal has 10 police stations. Lucknow with about 8 lakhs population in the 1971 census has 14 stations ——— five more than Kanpur.

Jaipur which has a population of more than 6 lakhs, as per the latest census, has the same number of police stations ——— eight stations ——— as Trivandrum which is now a city of about four lakhs people. Coimbatore ——— a city of less than four lakhs population (1971 census) has as many as seven police stations ——— one less than Jaipur. It seems that the southern states are more liberal in the matter of providing police stations to the cities than their northern counterparts. At any rate, the average population served by each police station in the two cities of Kanpur and Jaipur seems to be on the very high side. In the absence of adequate transport facilities, communications gadgets, and manpower resources, high population coverage of a police station naturally tends to adversely affect its working.

Turning now to the organisational problems of police stations, we would like to concentrate on their major structural defects. As the Delhi Police Commission rightly said: "The police station is the hub round which the entire criminal administration of the area within its jurisdiction revolves, and good or bad administration in a State depends on the good or bad management of

the police stations of the State".[5] Police station constitutes the very heart of city police organisation and for this reason in all the developed countries considerable emphasis is laid on the proper organisation of this basic ground level unit. Unfortunately, in our country, police organisation is at its worst at this crucial level which largely accounts for the poor image of our entire police administration. Police station is located at the 'cutting edge' of police organisation where the people and the police come in direct daily contacts. It does not matter much if the organisation is manned by capable officers at the higher supervisory and managerial levels. The behaviour of the police at the station level and the efficiency of station operation have decisive effect on the popular mind, and the image of the police is largely conditioned by the mode of operation of the police station.

The primary purpose of locating police stations at specific points in the local areas is to render service and protection to the citizens at quick notice. The emphasis is on prompt service. But, our police

---

5. Report of the Delhi Police Commission, (1966-68) vol. I, p. 203

stations instead of being citizens' service stations, are very often avoided by the citizens for whom these are meant. In course of our field trips, we heard from eminent public men in different walks of life stories of dishonesty of station house staff, harassment to citizens caused by them, indifference to complaints and general reluctance to come to the aid of the people.[6] Note what a recent Police Commission has said in this regard: "when a person goes to a police station with a complaint, no one listens to him willingly or patiently. The station writer constable who is invariably busy with some writing work at the table asks him to wait indefinitely and if the complainant presses for immediate notice of his complaint, he is abused by the constable in vile language and threatened with some sort of action against himself. The complainant leaves the police station with feelings of deep regret for having gone to the police station at all. All officers working at the police station from the constable upwards to the Sub-

---

6. The State Police Commission Reports also corroborate this. See, for instance, Report of the Punjab Police Commission (1961-62), Chapter V, Report of the Tamil Nadu Police Commission, vol. I (1971), chapter VIII.

Inspector seem to feel that they can successfully run the station only if they are able to instil a sense of fear among the general public. This emphasis on 'fear' conditions their attitude towards everybody including the law-abiding citizen". [7]

Under the circumstances, the public would naturally like to avoid the police and the 'service' aspect of police work gets completely lost. But the irony of the situation is that the police can ill afford to operate without public cooperation, nor can the public live without police help and protection. Each is complementary to the other, yet in India almost an unbridgeable gulf separates one from the other. It is in the context of this unhappy state of public-police relations that the reforms at the police station level have to be carefully thought of.

The police stations in our sample cities are generally entrusted to the charge of a sub-inspector, who occupies the lowest position in the hierarchy of officers. In a few cities, the inspector is given the charge of a police station. But the general rule is to post the

---

7. Report of the Tamil Nadu Police Commission (1971), vol. I, pp. 197-8.

sub-inspector as the head of the station. Considering the vast and very important responsibilities of the officer-in-charge of a police station, we are of the opinion that the entire superstructure of city police organisation suffers grievously on account of this faulty policy of entrusting the crucial charge of a police station to the lowest police officer. A careful look at the role and responsibilities of the officer-in-charge of police station would reveal that in a way he is a miniature District Superintendent of Police. He has all the responsibilities in relation to man-management, materials management, records management, financial management and police operations management. We do not wish to dilate on the detailed operational duties of the officer-in-charge of police station. Any Police Manual will supply all the details in this regard. We are convinced that a city police organisation rises in estimation or falls into disrepute largely on the basis of the successful management of the basic unit of police administration —— the police station. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the police station is placed under the charge of an officer with ripe experience, considerable leadership qualities and sound managerial ability. He must be good

in public relations and the training programme to groom such an officer must be of a very imaginative kind. Keeping in view the role envisaged, no officer below the rank of an inspector should be posted as station house officer of a city police station.

On the European Continent and in England, the comparable ground level police areal unit is everywhere headed by a fairly senior and experienced officer. Also, the basic unit at the ground level gets considerable assistance from the intermediate supervisory level and headquarters organisation. Owing to the availability of adequate transport facilities and other electronic and scientific gadgets, police stations in these countries generally cover larger areas. Yet the main purpose of minimum response time in aid of public is scrupulously fulfilled. Because of the separation of the C.I.D. and the Uniformed Branch into watertight compartments, the Continental police system is not easy to emulate. For instance, in Switzerland, France and West Germany, the C.I.D. is not to be found at the ground level operational unit. The tendency in general is to centralise the whole criminal investigation work at the headquarters. This practice virtually reduces the

ground level police unit to a law and order organisation only which, of course, includes management of petty and traffic crimes. Contrarily, the English system of policing is built on the idea of close cooperation of the C.I.D. and the Uniformed Branch. Thus in any English city, these two complementary branches are found coexisting at the ground level unit. Complete separation of the C.I.D. from the Uniformed Branch is presently being disfavoured even in the Continental countries such as West Germany, and in Cologne steps are under way to provide the C.I.D. staff at the level of the police station also ——— which is a departure from the long-standing practice of keeping the two wings of the police separate. It is generally acknowledged that in police work criminal investigation and law and order duties are inseparable twins. Hence, any attempt to separate these two into watertight compartments is bound to have deleterious effect on police operations. At the same time, functional specialisation needs to be promoted in police work, and from this point of view every police organisation should try to make a distinction, if not separation, between the two branches ——— the C.I.D. and the law and order wing. Following this principle, the English sub-divisional unit, which is

comparable to our police station, has been organised in such a way that the Uniformed Branch and the C.I.D. sit and work together in the same building, freely mix up among themselves, exchange information and intelligence and cooperate in their individual operations. The overall control and management of the sub-Division is left to the care of a senior officer —— the Superintendent who belongs to the Uniformed Branch. The detective work is looked after by the Detective Inspector who maintains his separate C.I.D. link with the Headquarters organisation via the Divisional C.I.D. staff. The members of the sub-divisional staff under the Detective Inspector are exclusively devoted to criminal investigation work. As they do not put on the uniform, they keep their identities separate from the Uniformed Branch. There is considerable exchange of personnel between the C.I.D. and the Uniformed Branch in England, as a result of which the English police system does not encourage hide-bound insularity of the Continental type among the C.I.D. staff. At the Sub-Divisional level, the Uniformed Branch is looked after primarily by the Uniformed Inspector. The staff under him engaged in law and order, surveillance and traffic duties are all in uniform.

Contrastingly, our police station organisation, as

mentioned earlier, is headed by the lowest officer in police hierarchy. His supporting staff consists of Head Constables and Constables ——— none of whom can be relied upon for the discharge of important responsibilities. The whole emphasis of our police station organisation is to put a certain quota of men without regard for the quality that is needed to efficiently perform the important functions entrusted to this level. In consequence, the station staff is found deficient in both static and mobile duties. Inside the station, the tendency is to keep up a show of record maintenance, and outside neither law and order work nor criminal investigation is properly attended to. In the absence of adequate staff and due to pressing problems, the officer-in-charge of police station generally tries to avoid responsibilities which are avoidable. The higher-level supervision being extremely week and perfunctory, he tries to manage things by doing the minimum. It is small wonder that the Station House Officer, under the circumstances, tends sometimes to be a local despot throwing his weight about and indulging in corrupt practices. His supporting staff ——— the Head Constables and Constables ——— are infinitely loyal to him, as he generally allows them to have their way. Drawn

largely from the agricultural class, the present constabulary is generally unfit to function in city surroundings. At best, the constabulary can be of some use in the show of force; but its members, even if trained, are unable to master the principles of police work both in the law and order field and criminal investigation work. In no developed country, police work at any stage is entrusted to the types of unskilled labour that we have been traditionally using in our police force. A servile band of unlettered and unskilled police men promptly saluting the bosses every now and then is a drag on our police force. Police work earns the respect of citizens not because of the presence of qualified and highly educated officers at the top. It is the efficient operation and good behaviour of men at the ground level that slowly but steadily builds up a bright popular image of the police. If we are serious about reforms in our city police organisations, such reforms must start from the level of the police station where intelligent and educated men are urgently needed in replacement of the vast army of rough, ill-trained, underpaid and uneducated constables who are not qualified

to perform the duties that are assigned to them.[8]

During our visits to the sample cities, we heard the universal complaint that police station work ——— mainly beat duties and surveillance work, and criminal investigation ——— was almost going by default primarily because of the deployment of staff on 'bandobast' duties. When a V.I.P. visits the city, or processions and demonstrations are being staged, the normal work of the police station is thoroughly upset. Men and officers are drawn freely on such occasions, which are quite frequent, from the police stations to meet these perpetual emergencies. There cannot be a more disastrous police policy than this. It is rather ironical that every State has been steadily building up a strong force of armed police, sometimes at the cost of the normal civil police, yet it is the latter that has to bear the brunt of emergency situations. From what we have actually seen in the field, we are convinced

---

8. The Fraser Commission spoke more bitterly about the constabulary, although no radical measures were suggested to get rid of them. See Indian Police Commission (1902-03), para 24.

that unless the present practice of withdrawing men and officers from normal police work is stopped forthwith, the entire police system will soon be in jeopardy. Our whole emphasis in this report is on strengthening the police station by thoroughly overhauling its archaic organisation. In consonance with this policy, we would urge that the first thing that has to be done immediately is to devise a new method of tackling policing problems relating to 'bandobast' duties. The rationale of police station lies in catering to local policing problems. Processions and demonstrations that transcend the boundaries of police stations and affect the city as a whole should be none of police station's concern. Similarly, the duties in connection with the visit of a V.I.P. do not fall within the purview of police station work. For all these non-police station operations, if these are found to be too frequent, a separate contingent of specialised force should be raised. Here we can draw lessons from similar special forces in France and Japan. It is possible that the present Armed Police in every State which is generally kept separate from the ordinary civil police could be trained in such a way that their members would be able to deal with the emergent situations tactfully. Instead of insulating the Armed Police

from normal police work, a sounder policy would be to involve them judiciously even in conventional police operations. In France a similar policy has paid rich dividends, as the special armed constabulary has thus been trained in specified spheres of normal police work. This has also brought salutary relief to the hard-worked civil police.

Functional Specialisation

It is not easy to define exactly the scope of police functions. Maintenance of law and order and prevention and detection of crime have traditionally been identified as police functions per se. But all over the world, a host of other ancillary duties in the fields of traffic, excise, fire fighting, social service and municipal function have been entrusted to the police. Due to acute manpower shortage, in many of the Western countries an attempt is currently being made to relieve the police of some of these extra-police functions and to induct into the police organisation non-police staff who could be used as aids to the regular force. For instance, the duties in regard to parking regulations now have been entrusted to municipal traffic wardens in some Continental cities. Similarly, in Britain civilianisation of indoor work is growing apace. The staff

engaged in the maintenance of crime records, for example, has, in many of the European cities been specially recruited outside the regular police force. The current trend in England to employ the 'scene of crime officer' ——— a non-policeman ——— for examining local crime scenes and lift evidences testifies to the attempts that are now being made in England to give relief to the regular force.

Our city police forces are also to undertake functions which are not always, strictly speaking, police functions. Process serving, enforcement of municipal laws in relation to removal of encroachments and unauthorised constructions, licensing of cinemas, shops, hotels and restaurants ——— these are some of the instances of non-police functions which are entrusted to the police. Process serving can be done through the postal department and local licensing functions and municipal duties may well be transferred to the local municipal authorities. It has been suggested that traffic regulation work could also be entrusted to the municipalities. Because of increasing complexity of traffic regulations and traffic offences in the cities the trend all over the world is, however, not only

to keep these functions in the hands of the police but also to promote specialisation in this field of police operation. The cities in our sample are fast developing into urban agglomerations with their attendant traffic problems. At the moment, traffic planning and regulation are being made half-heartedly, and in almost all the cities these functions are joined up with law and order duties. Especially in cities like Lucknow, Kanpur and Jaipur, organisation of a specialised central traffic planning and control wing should be seriously considered. This will form part of the Field Operations Directorate suggested earlier. The traffic branch can then be operated centrally from the city police headquarters. On the pattern of the city traffic police in the West, motorised traffic police would have to be introduced in at least the more populous cities to keep a watch on the road hogs. This will have the additional effect of lending indirect support to the patrolmen on beats. The central control room is gradually being strengthened in the sample cities. Its potentialities would be fully utilised if the motorised units of the traffic branch and the men on patrol duties could be provided with handy wireless sets. These are costly ventures no doubt, but instead of depending constantly on

manpower, selective attempts couldbe made to introduce these gadgets in some of the larger cities. It can be emphasised at this point that the patrolman's mini radio set has revolutionised the foot beat operations in England in recent times.

In our city police organisations, functional specialisation does not seem to have been overtly encouraged. The universal tendency is to make the policeman a jack-of-all-trades; naturally, therefore, he is master of none. Police organisation in India is unconscionably oriented toward law and order duties, and this has been its fate since the recommendations of the first Police Commission (1860) which rejected the idea of constituting a separate detective wing.[9] On the recommendation of the Fraser Commission, Provincial Criminal Investigation Departments were brought into being around 1907. Since then, the detective work has remained highly centralised and no attempt has really been made to develop the C.I.D. as a specialised operative branch at the local level. During the British regime, it was the Special

---

9. See Sir Percival Griffiths, To guard my People: The History of the Indian Police, Ernest Benn Ltd., London, 1971, Chapter 25.

Branch which was engaged in collecting political intelligence, that loomed large in the so-called detective service. Even today, the members of the Special Barnch alone go without uniform much like the members of the C.I.D. in the Western countries. This proves that tradition dies hard and we are still to get used to the idea that specialised detective wing without uniform is an indispensable part of efficient police force. It may not be an exaggeration to say that because of our inordinate emphasis on law and order duties, we do not have in our force any C.I.D. in the Western sense of the term. Owing partly to this reason, the police force tends to pay lip service to criminal investigation work. There is no scope for specialisation, it is not wanted by the system. In consequence, our State and district crime organisations are just show pieces. Crime record maintenance and the M.O.B. are actually hanging on the fringes, as these have hardly any direct, purposeful operational connections with the real theatre of vital police operations ——— the police station. It is in this context that the development of the C.I.D. as an integral but distinct part of the city police force has to be carefully considered.

At the moment, in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, arrangements have been made to separate the investigation staff

from the law and order staff at the police station level. Where there are more than one sub-inspectors, one of them is entrusted with investigation work with a complement of supporting staff. In fact, however, this remains often a paper scheme, as owing to the pressure of duties in the law and order field the investigation staff is frequently used for law and order work. In Uttar Pradesh, the separation of the law and order staff from the investigation staff was recommended by the Police Reorganisation Committee (1947-48) for towns having a population of one lakh and above. The Committee's approach in this regard was, however, half-hearted as it did not really want a separate investigation branch. Nevertheless, the Government of Uttar Pradesh did make an attempt to implement the recommendation in the five KAVAL towns and in Meerut and Bareilly. This experiment did not really work and the investigation staff sanctioned for exclusive use in investigation work was in fact utilised freely for law and order work. As the Uttar Pradesh Police Commission (1960-61) observed: "We have examined in details the working of this scheme at Lucknow and Kanpur, and are constrained to mention that the experiment was not given a serious trial and that the investigation staff specially

sanctioned by government was not utilised exclusively for the investigation work. These new Sub-Inspectors were merged in the existing strength and were utilised like any other Sub-Inspector for both law and order and investigation duties". [10] The Commission emphasised the need for having a separate investigation staff to ensure prompt and successful investigation of cases, and recommended that "law and order staff should be separated from the investigation staff in all towns having a population of a lakh and over". [11]

The impression that we got during our field visits is that this recommendation also has met with the same fate as the earlier one of the Police Reorganisation Committee. This is nothing unexpected. Mere separation of the two types of staff ——law and order, and investigation —— cannot solve the problem. If the criminal investigation branch has to be seriously evolved as a separate, specialised wing of our police system, we need to have a firm State police policy in this regard.

---

10. Report, op. cit., p. 72.

11. Ibid., p. 73.

Having enunciated such a policy, the criminal investigation staff has to be separated in the police force all along the line. As earlier pointed out, there are different models of organisation of the C.I.D. Because of the flexibility of the organisation in England, the English system may well be tried out in our country. This would mean that the staff joining the C.I.D. force will remain with the C.I.D. unless any member of the force opts to cross over to the Uniformed Branch. Similarly, any member of the Uniformed Branch, if he is found fit, could be taken in the C.I.D. But once the option is given and one joins the C.I.D., he will have nothing to do with law and order duties. The two sides would of course have to work in close association with each other, yet each would remain a separate and differentiated wing of the police force. Also, it is absolutely necessary that the staff on the C.I.D. side work in plain clothes. A Uniformed C.I.D., as we have been practising so long, will never succeed organisationally, since in the absence of distinction in uniform there will always remain the temptation to merge it with the law and order staff. We would, therefore, suggest that in keeping with the tradition of criminal investigation staff elsewhere in the world, the staff engaged

in investigation work must not put on uniform. Initially, there may be some set back, as our people are not used to seeing the investigation staff without uniform. But, we are sure that as the system keeps on operating for a while, the ununiformed investigation staff, if they are able to gain popularity through their specialised skill, will soon be accepted much like the traditional uniformed police.

At the police station level, in consonance with our earlier recommendation for a thorough overhaul of the station organisation, a senior Inspector should be put in overall charge of the station, and below him the Uniformed Branch responsible for law and order duties should be headed by an Inspector and the Detective Branch should similarly be placed in the charge of a Detective Inspector. The staff engaged in detective work ——— Inspector, sub-inspectors, head constables and constables ——— would all be in plain clothes, and they should in no circumstances be mixed up with the staff engaged in law and order duties. The entire Detective staff would be <u>technically</u> accountable to the Central Detective Branch which would form part of the Field Operations Directorate at the Headquarters. They would, however, function under the general administra-

tive control of the Station House Officer ——— the Senior Inspector. Expertise in criminal investigation work can be promoted only through the creation of a separate Detective Branch in the police organisation. This will give an impetus to specialisation, and the apparatuses for criminal investigation such as Finger Print Bureau and M.O.B. will be meaningfully utilised when a separate branch comes into existence.

Wherever an intermediate level like the 'district' in the commissionerate cities will be constituted, the detective staff should be separated at that level also from the law and order staff. A senior uniformed officer, possibly of the rank of a superintendent of police, will take charge of the 'district' and the detective staff in plain clothes headed by a senior detective officer of the rank of a deputy superintendent of police would work under the general administrative control of the uniformed superintendent. Technically, the 'district' detective staff will have their direct line of communication with the central detective wing forming part of the Field Operations Directorate as suggested earlier. The supporting services such as Finger Print Bureau, Photographic aids, crime Records Section etc. will have to be centralised

at the Headquarters level. The specialised staff and equipments would be made available to the ground level operating units from the Central technical wing. The main function of this intermediate level would be to supervise and guide the work of ground level staff. It needs hardly any emphasis that our recommendation for the constitution of a separate detective wing in plain clothes at the city level would entail far-reaching reorganisation at the State Headquarters.

Sophisticated crimes that need to be investigated by experts will have to be referred by the detective staff at the station level to the Central Detective Branch through the intermediate 'district' officer, if there is one. This raises the question of constituting specialised crime squads at the central level. The U.P. Police Commission favoured the idea of forming Special Investigation Squads at the district level to look into serious offences or specialised crimes. But, the Commission did not examine the need for special squads linked to specific crimes.[12] The Inspector-General of Police, Madhya Pradesh, suggested to the

---

12. Report, op. cit., pp. 73-4.

Madhya Pradesh Police Commission that special squads should be constituted for the investigation of special crimes e.g. homicide squads, squads for housebreaking and theft offences, squads for cheating, forgery and embezzlement offences etc. The Commission agreed that "the experiment should start with two squads, one for homicide and the other for detecting important property offences to be located at the bigger cities like Jabalpur, Indore, Gwaliar, Bhopal and Raipur".[13] There are obvious advantages in constituting specialised crime squads. Especially, in our scheme of reorganisation of the detective wing it will be easier to form such groups to promote expertise and facilitate speedy and successful investigation. For this reason, both in England and on the Continent, specialised crime squads dealing with specific crimes such as drugs and narcotics, sexual offences, homicide, juvenile delinquency, economic crimes, thefts and burglaries, cheating etc. are quite common. The tendency on the Continent is to split up the detective wing into innumerable small specialised squads. Contrarily, in England

---

13. Report, op. cit., p. 23.

specialisation is encouraged without fragmenting the C.I.D. into too many small squads. Specialised squads need not be constituted merely for the sake of the squads. How the squads should be formed and what should be their number would ultimately depend on the actual crime situation in a city. If certain crimes are of a transitional character, there is no need to form a specialised squad to meet the situation. In fact, the experience of the Continental cities has been that when the C.I.D. is split up into too many micro-units, each unit tries to perpetuate itself and shut itself off from other units. It is not true that our sample cities have been generating too many specialised crimes. As shown in Chapter III, 'House breaking' and 'ordinary thefts' dominate the crime scene in these cities. These crimes could be effectively combated by an efficient beat patrol system. Still, we feel that a specialised Burglary and Theft Squad can be constituted in each city and watch its performance carefully. Kanpur might need a Homicide Squad and all the northern cities in the sample including Bhopal could think of forming specialised squads to deal with kidnapping and abduction. Cases relating to criminal breach of trust and cheating are not negligible in

the three cities of Kanpur, Lucknow and Coimbatore. Specialised squads might be tried out to deal with such cases. We would, however, conclude that the need for specialised crime squads should be assessed by each city on the basis of its individual crime situation and in no case should the detective wing be fragmented into many small specialised units.

The Uniformed Branch

So far as the uniformed branch is concerned, it needs to be emphasised that this branch constitutes the hard core of police organisation all over the world. Almost all the police functions are performed by this branch. Even the detective branch has to depend for its success on the first information reported by the members of the uniformed branch, and the former needs to be constantly fed by information and intelligence gathered by the latter. It is at the police station level that the uniformed branch assumes a crucial role. We have earlier suggested formation of a special squad to deal with riots, agitations, demonstrations and processions that affect the city as a whole. The intention is that the normal police station duties of the uniformed branch should in no case be allowed to be disturbed. During our field trips, we

come to notice that the normal functioning of the police station was in complete disarray due mainly to the engagement of the station staff in extra-police station duties in connection with the V.I.P. visits and processions and demonstrations. Especially in the capital cities, these occurrences have put the police station organisation at sixes and sevens.

It was openly admitted by the station house officers that due to other preoccupations the beat design is mutilated very often in the day and sometimes in the night also. In the day and night time, only crucial beat points are manned and serviced. We conducted a sample survey of the beat operations at heavy duty police stations in the four cities of Lucknow, Kanpur, Jaipur and Ludhiana. At Lucknow for instance, as shown in Table 17 on 68 per cent of the days the day beat design was incompletely carried out and on 21 per cent of the days [illegible] there was no beat at all. As regards night beat, on 53 per cent of the days the beat arrangements were incompletely carried out while no night beat was missed completely. At Kanpur, on 73 per cent of the days there was incomplete beat and on 17 per cent of the days there was

no beat at all. As regards night beat, on 69 per cent of the days there was incomplete night beat. At Jaipur on 58 per cent of the days and 54 per cent of the nights there was incomplete beat while on 42 per cent of the days and 4 per cent of the nights there was no beat at all. At Ludhiana 57 per cent of the patrolling in day time was incomplete. The percentage for night patrolling was 55 per cent. The 'no beat' days came to 19 per cent and 'no beat nights' 8 per cent.

Table 17

Number of days/nights Beat was incomplete or did not take place as percentage of total beat days/nights at Heavy Duty Police Stations in four sample cities

	Day Beat		Night Beat	
	Incomplete	No Beat	Incomplete	No beat
Lucknow	68.0	21.0	53.0	0.00
Kanpur	73.0	17.1	69.0	0.00
Jaipur	58.0	42.0	54.0	4.00
Ludhiana	57.0	19.1	55.0	8.00

Source: Data Collected during field visits.

A detailed study of policeman hours spent on patrolling brought out a disconcerting feature that

even in theory the level of supervision by the gazetted officers (calculated as percentage of both formal and informal man hours spent on supervision) seemed to be too disaffected and quantitatively negligible. For instance during the year 1970-71, in theory the beat-design at a sample police station required time input of 76.3 per cent of Constable, 19.8 per cent of Head Constable, 2.0 per cent of ASI/SI, 0.4 per cent of Inspector and 2.0 per cent of Gazetted Officers at Jaipur. At Kanpur the beat time input of Constable and Head Constable constituted as much as 95.6 per cent, and of ASI/SI 2.0 per cent, of Inspector 0.4 per cent and of Gazetted Officers 0.3 per cent. The corresponding figures for Ludhiana were 95.6 per cent, 2.0 per cent, 0.4 per cent and 2.0 per cent respectively. At Lucknow again 80 per cent of time input was supposed to be that of constable, 16.0 per cent of Head Constable, 2.5 per cent of ASI/SI, 0.4 per cent of Inspector and 1.1 per cent of Gazetted Officers. The details are given in Table 18.

It is disconcerting to see the manner in which the beat duties have been mismanaged. We have earlier pointed out in Chapter III that the two crimes that dominate the crime scene of the sample cities are

Table 18

Percentage of total Policeman hours devoted to patrolling for each category of police force during 1970-71 at Heavy City Police Stations

Cities	Constable	Head Constable	ASI/SI	Inspector	G.O.	Total
Jaipur	76.3	19.3	2.0	0.4	2.0	100.00
Kanpur	81.6	14.0	2.0	0.4	0.3	100.00
Ludhiana	63.7	31.9	2.0	0.4	2.0	100.00
Lucknow	80.0	16.0	2.5	0.4	1.1	100.00

It was not possible to calculate the man hours on supervision spent on beats within the purview of the particular police station. This percentage figure is calculated on the basis of total man hours spent as percentage of beat time input of the P.S.

Source: Information collected through interviews.

'burglaries' and 'ordinary thefts'. The incidence of these types of crimes can be minimised only by means of a well-designed and well-administered patrol organisation. But the evidence that we got during field visits is that the city patrol organisation is very poorly manned and managed. The objectives of patrol duties are not quite clear in the minds of the operational staff. Nor is

supervision of patrol staff by superior officers satisfactory. In fact, the patrol operations seem to have been looked upon as dull routine and these have no feedback results in the larger organisation. We attach considerable importance to the proper designing, manning and management of city patrol operations which are intended not only to offer protection to the localities but also to help the police organisation to collect information and intelligence on crime and criminals. Really speaking, patrol operation constitutes the meeting point of the Uniformed Branch and the Detective Branch. It is, therefore, necessary that the staff engaged in it is sufficiently qualified and trained to efficiently perform the duties entrusted to them. At the moment, patrol duties are left to the care of the head constables and constables who care more for themselves than for the duties. Nor do they have the capacity to comprehend properly the scope of activities that they are called upon to undertake. Supervision by superior officers is proverbially low and lax. We do not think that mere improvement in supervision is going to improve things. Unless the calibre of the constabulary improves considerably so that intelligent and educated men are deployed on patrol duties, no amount

of supervision will be able to cure the present ills. It may be mentioned in this connection that the recently introduced 'unit beat policing' in England brought to sharp focus the real objectives of beat patrol and evoked new interest in the reorganisation of this basic police function. With the use of conspicuously marked motor vehicles on beat superimposed upon resident foot patrol constables and an efficient method of collating information, the system of unit beat policing has not only been able to reduce crime but also to improve detection rates.[14] This new method of patrol operation has amply proved that mere manpower input is not enough to ensure effective operation. With clear objectives and far less manpower, it is possible to evolve a system of beat policing which will yield satisfactory results in police-community relations, reduction in crime rate and increase in detection rates. It may not be possible to immediately equip our patrol men with individual radio set, and provide for mobile cars on beat. Yet, some other features of this system

---

14. See Unit Beat Policing: Report No. 11/67, Home Officer Police Research and Planning Branch, U.K., July 1967.

of beat operation such as resident patrol man, collator and the intimate contacts between the uniformed branch and the detective branch could be emulated by our police organisation with profit. Since we have already suggested creation of a separate detective branch in plain clothes, unit beat policing, if adopted, would considerably help the operation of the detective wing. The collator who receives, processes and disseminates the information and intelligence has a crucial role to play in this system. We would suggest that unit beat policing might be tried out on experimental basis in some of the major cities and if the results are found satisfactory it could gradually be introduced in other cities as well.

Rationalisation of Police Station Work

During our field visits, we paid special attention to the internal working of police stations. One particular aspect that came to our notice is the large volume of scriptory work at this level. Apart from crime and complaints registration, there are a number of registers dealing with 'malkhana', local bad characters and known depredators, diaries of different kinds, cash registers, properties and arms registers and so on. Additionally, there are different kinds of reports ——— daily, weekly

fortnightly, monthly etc. ——— which are compiled and sent to proper authorities. Although we could not devote much time to a detailed study of scriptory work at the station level, the limited experience that we had was enough to reveal the utter inadequacy of both manpower and material resources for this purpose. For instance, in some police stations we saw a number of men put to copying work. The forms designs in most cases are cumbrous; nobody seems to have thought of simplifying these since their inception in olden days. Even elementary stationery items such as sufficient quality paper and carbon papers were missing in some instances. The total impression that we got was one of a primitive working condition in most police stations. Things are bound to be messy where half-literate or illiterate men are asked to do skilled jobs and that too without giving them the necessary wherewithals for the performance of the tasks. We have a vague feeling that many of the reports and returns at the police station level have formed part of a dead routine and these may not be serving any useful purpose. It may be pointed out that to facilitate prompt reporting, suitable forms have been in use in England and on the Continent on all conceivable types of crimes and

offences. Police station staff can easily and promptly fill in these forms which are classified information-wise. Wherever the rules require copies to be made out of specific reports and returns, the forms are so designed that the carbon sheets accompany the forms as integral parts. Invariably, the forms are imaginatively prepared and printed centrally and then supplied to each police station. Contrarily, our police station staff has always to write on plain sheets which render reporting difficult and everchanging depending on the capability of individual reporting staff. These are remediable defects. We would urge that a team of work study specialists should be invited to undertake a thorough examination of the organisation and internal management of police station work in order to rationalise the work procedure and evolve standardised forms designs for easy and expeditious reporting.

The police stations are meant to be used by the members of the police and public alike. These are local service stations to cater to the needs of citizens. Naturally one would expect the police station to be neat and clean and agreeable looking. Instead of repelling the public, it should have nice

surroundings and provide ample room for public reception. But it is common knowledge that our police stations do not even have enough room for the staff to work in peace and comfort. There is hardly any space provided for the members of the public to come and sit at ease. If the image of the police has to be bettered, it is imperative that imaginative thought should be given to the lay out of police stations. We have no hesitation in saying that most of our existing city police stations structures need to be pulled down and replaced by new ones that would look after the amenities of the station staff as much as the comfort of the in-coming public.

Before we conclude this chapter, we would like to draw attention to the need for providing adequate amenities to the constabulary that forms the bulk of our police force. We came across appalling living conditions in some of the police lines that we visited. In the absence of housing facilities to the men, they live huddled together like cattle. Most of them hail from villages where they leave their families for want of housing accommodation in the cities. There is hardly any recreation facilities available,

as a result of which they have no real relaxation when they are off-duty. It may not be an exaggeration to say that our police organisations tend to treat the members of the constabulary, on which they depend so heavily, as less than human beings and a little more than chattels. If the reformers are serious about police reforms, the process of overhaul must start from the bottom where the present constabulary should be replaced early and urgently by a new, educated, and adequately remunerated and trained force which would form the backbone of our future police organisation in the cities, towns and villages.[15]

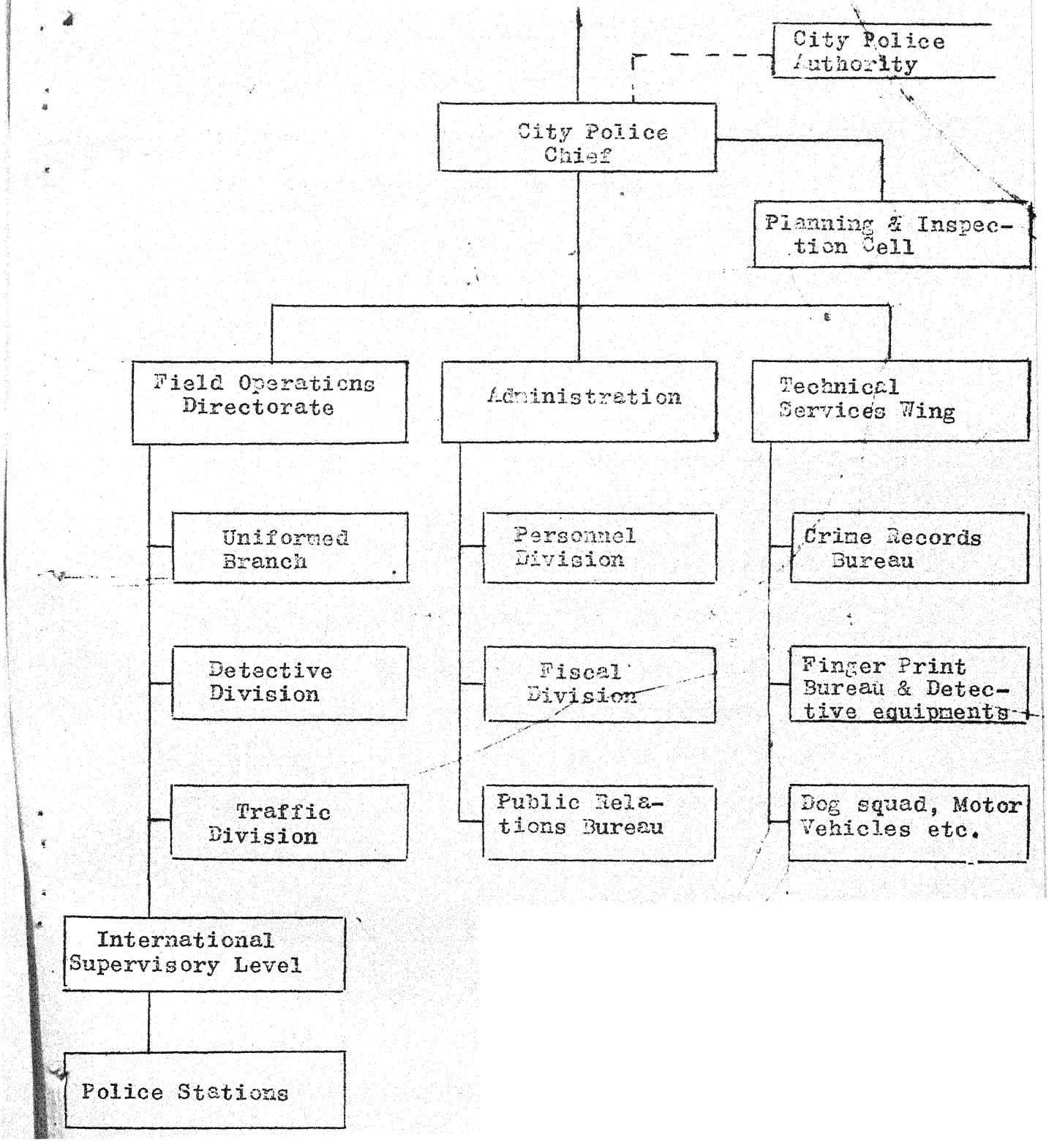
---

15. Out of the discussions in the previous and the present chapters, an organisation chart has been drawn on the shape of our proposed city police organisation. The chart along with an explanatory note is appended to this chapter.

EXPLANATORY NOTE ON THE PROPOSED CITY POLICE ORGANISATION

The enclosed organisation chart is not meant to be a straight-jacket. Its purpose is to provide the broad layout of city police organisation which would, of course, be subject to local variations. The chart has been drawn up on the basis of discussions in Chapters IV and V. The City Police Chief would be accountable to departmental supervisors. In addition, a statutory City Police Authority consisting of the major local interests and institutions is envisaged to ensure local accountability of a city police organisation. The Planning and Inspection Cell attached to the City Police Chief will act as his brainstrust. It will keep a constant watch on police operational practices and suggest changes, whenever needed. The Organisation will have three main wings: Field Operations Directorate, Administrative Branch and Technical Services Wing each headed by a senior officer. The role of each wing is self-evident from the design of the Chart. The Intermediate Supervisory Level is envisaged as a territorial unit only in large cities. Both the territorial units —— the Intermedial Supervisory Level and the Police Stations —— will be functioning directly under the Field Operations Directorate.

PROPOSED CITY POLICE ORGANISATION



VI

PERSONNEL POLICY AND TRAINING

The discussions in earlier chapters, especially in chapters IV and V on 'Organisation' and 'Management' have important implications for police personnel policy and training. Since training policy follows from the structure of personnel, we would briefly analyse the problems of existing police personnel structure which would lead us to the subsequent discussion on training problems. Inevitably, the issues raised in this section would affect not only the city police force but also the police organisation as a whole.

Staff Structure:

The police staff structure in the sample cities is more or less uniform. At the bottom of the hierarchy is the constable followed by the head constable. Next starts the officer's rank, viz, that of the sub-inspector. Below the sub-inspector, a post of assistant sub-inspector has been provided in all the cities in our sample except Coimbatore, Trivandrum and Ernakulam. The next higher office is that of the inspector. The highest police officer recruited by the State Public Service Commission is the deputy superintendent of police. Alongside this is an elite

class of officers recruited on all-India basis by the Union Public Service Commission. The members of this service - the Indian Police Service ——— start their career as assistant superintendents of police and hold all the key positions in the police organisation. The general pattern is that with the exception of the post of head constable, all other posts are filled up by a mixture of direct recruitment and promotion. If we leave out the post of assistant sub-inspector which does not exist in all the States, the police personnel structure is built up of five direct entry points. This raises a fundamental question. What is the rationale for keeping so many direct points of entry in a service? It needs to be mentioned that the existing police personnel structure is a legacy of the colonial past, and during the British regime, the police service, because of its obvious importance, was kept highly fragmented. Originally conceived as a garrison force, the emphasis in constituting it was laid on large scale recruitment of low paid, illiterate and unskilled manpower at the bottom ——— a policy which still continues today in blind imitation of the past. The other consideration weighing in the minds of the British administrators in those days was to give fair representation in the force to different Indian castes

and communal groups. The system, to quote J.B. Curry, was aimed at "bringing in the higher classes in the higher ranks and the lower classes in the lower ranks".[1] Class distinctions were openly advocated by the Fraser Commission (1902-03) when the Commission recommended that the sub-inspector who would hold charge of police station should not be drawn from the constabulary by promotion. To quote the Commission, "Everywhere the demand of enlightened opinion is for the reform of the station house officer. He must be more intelligent, more respectable, better trained and better supervised". The post of deputy superintendent of police was created as a sequel to the recommendations of the Fraser Commission. This was done partly due to political considerations, as the Government of India could no longer afford to ignore the rising Indian demands for entry into higher offices in the police service. Other reasons for creating the post were the stoppage of limited competition in India for the post of superintendent of police and the abolition of the promotion system from the post of inspector. The original scheme was that the highest posts

---

1. The Indian Police, op. cit., p. 76.

from superintendent upward would be kept reserved for the English officers and the posts from deputy superintendent downward would be left to be filled up by the Indians.

The structure of police personnel, thus evolved during the British regime, remains the same even today. The top positions are now filled up through all-India recruitment to the Indian Police Service which is an elite cadre without any parallel anywhere in the world. In some of the Continental countries in Europe, a separate superior class of officers can, of course, be found. But, the distinction between the officers and the ranks is based on a principle of intellectual aristocracy. Thus a university graduate in France may directly join as an officer de police; but a person with inferior education has to join as a policeman, a Gardien de la paix from which he has to climb up the service ladder in a hard way by dint of his personal qualifications and service record. Like the French system, the Swedish and Dutch police organisations provide for direct recruitment of a superior officer class - mainly University law graduates —— who constitute an educated, elite cadre sufficiently distinguishable from the subordinate ranks. In India, however, the practice of direct recruitment of deputy superintendent of police as another superior

position in the hierarchy has complicated the personnel structure by introducing an element of unnecessary competitiveness. The circumstances under which this post was created do not exist today. If it is accepted that federal recruitment of superior police officers is sound in principle, the desirable course would be to stop direct recruitment of the deputy superintendent of police at the state level. In that case, the service structure has to be so constituted that there should be a dividing line between the superior officer class and the subordinate ranks, with, of course, suitable provisions for talent in the latter group to enter the former. At the moment the police personnel structure consists of the following ranks:

1. Inspector General
2. Deputy Inspector General
3. Assistant Inspector General

---

4. Superintendent
5. Assistant Superintendent

---

6. Deputy Superintendent
7. Inspector
8. Sub-Inspector (also Assistant-Sub-Inspector)
9. Head Constable
10. Constable

The posts from 1 to 3 are primarily administrative and supervisory in nature. The remaining seven posts are directly operational and supervisory. Admittedly, a D.I.G. can and does hold operational charge of a commissionerate city police organisation. In general, however, the posts from constable to Superintendent are field operations oriented. Here again, the post of assistant superintendent is really one intended to make a distinction between a freshly recruited apprentice superintendent and the deputy superintendent. If direct State recruitment of deputy superintendent is stopped, either of the two posts of assistant superintendent and deputy superintendent would be redundant. But, the chief consideration would be: from which rank should the officer class begin? In other words, at what point in the hierarchy do we draw a line of distinction between the superior officer class and the subordinate ranks? In the English police organisation, the post of inspector is taken as the point wherefrom the superior rank starts. But the English system does not have a built-in elite cadre recruited differently from the other ranks. Since ours is more akin to the continental personnel system, we should think anew about the appropriate rank in the hierarchy which would be the starting point of our

superior police service. The continuation of the old colonial practice of inducting the superior officer at the level of the assistant superintendent does not stand to reason. Our direct recruits to the Indian Police Service take it for granted on the day of their entry into the cadre that they belong to the superior class and this is enough to ensure a smooth climb up. A direct recruit starts his career as an assistant superintendent at which point in the hierarchy there is little scope for direct and real involvement in police field operations. At best, he gains a superficial knowledge of police station work and other operational duties through short visits and second hand sources. It needs to be mentioned that the superior officer class under the continental system has to pass through direct operational experiences at the ground level, although the duration of stay at lower levels is not very long. We have the requisite calibre in the new recruits, but the present personnel system stands in the way of their adequate exposure to the realities of police operations. We have suggested in Chapter V that the police station organisation needs to be overhauled and the station incharge should be the inspector. In keeping with this recommendation, we would suggest that the officer class

could start from the rank of inspector, and the new recruits to the I.P.S. should be attached to police stations, when on field training, for a sufficiently long period. Ideally, they should be made to work as station house officers. Other experiences necessary for sound grooming would include those relating to supervisory positions. After passing through these operational and supervisory experiences, they would be fit to assume charge of district or city forces.

Under the English system, there are five standardised ranks viz., chief constable, superintendent, inspector, sergeant and constable. Intermediate ranks such as assistant chief constable, chief superintendent, chief inspector are also in vogue. Here the principle of standardisation is based on the nature of functions relative to a rank. Thus, the ranks below the inspector are mainly operational, the inspector has supervisory and leadership functions, and beyond this rank, the other posts call for high managerial and administrative abilities. Contrastingly, the personnel structure in India is a little too fragmented and the principle of standardisation is not quite clear. If we accept the principle of classifying the personnel on the basis of three distinct levels, viz., operational, middle management

and senior management, it is possible to evolve a standardised personnel structure as follows:

Level		Ranks
Operational:	1.	Constable
	2.	Chief Constable
	3.	Sub-inspector
Middle Management	1.	Inspector
	2.	Chief Inspector
Senior Management	1.	Deputy Superintendent
	2.	Superintendent
	3.	Chief Superintendent

In this personnel scheme, the D.I.G. and A.I.G. would be functioning exclusively as aids to the Inspector General at State Headquarters or in the ranges. The police chief in a commissionerate city would be of the rank of chief superintendent which will be a post superior to the superintendent but a step below that of the D.I.G. At the middle management level, the chief inspector might hold charge of bigger and more important police stations. Since we have recommended the creation

of a separate detective branch and the introduction of a specialised detective service all along the line, the chief of a police station would have important managerial and coordinating responsibilities. He would be the focal point of local area police administration embracing both law and order and C.I.D. functions. Similarly, in consonance with our earlier recommendation for a thorough overhaul of the constabulary, we suggest recruitment of educated youngmen and women as constables who would play a crucial role at the ground level in a reorganised police station structure. Especially, with the introduction of unit beat policing, the constable will assume a very important position by combining both law and order duties and preliminary C.I.D. functions of gathering information and feeding the collator. The post of chief constable is not merely a replacement of the present head constable. In our personnel scheme, the chief constable will function as the leader of a group of constables on different duties. He may be used also as collator, if the system of unit beat policing is introduced. The sub-inspectors would in small stations take charge of the force in each wing ——— law and order and detective. They will not hold charge of police stations as at present. The designa-

tions will be common to both the C.I.D. and the Uniformed Branch.

At the senior management level, the post of assistant superintendent may be abolished. Since we have recommended the stoppage of direct recruitment of deputy superintendents, the apprentice I.P.S. officer can start as deputy superintendent.

The police organisations in the developed nations are trying their level best to get a fair share of the educated youth in police service. In India, a police personnel policy is yet to be consciously evolved to attract the educated youngmen and women toward the police organisation. We have laid emphasis on urgent reform of the constabulary at the bottom of the organisation. If intelligent and educated men are to be attracted to the service, the salary scales and service conditions must be improved radically. The service structure must offer opportunities to ambitious and competent men for quickly going up in the hierarchy. Promotion policy has to be devised accordingly. Instead of having numerous direct entry points in the police service, we would suggest only two such points of entry. One is the direct federal recruitment of the senior management cadre, as at present. The second point of entry could be at the level

of the constable. All the positions from this level upward to the post of chief inspector in our proposed personnel scheme should then be filled up by promotions preceded in each case by examinations. This will open up promotion prospects for lower level staff upto the middle management level. There should not be any bar for the officers at the middle management level to move up to the senior level. Officers of outstanding calibre and competence should be allowed to have entry into the senior level. As the personnel structure would thus enable free upward mobility of the subordinate ranks, the initial qualifications for recruitment to these ranks would necessarily have to be fixed keeping in mind not only the duties and responsibilities at the lowest level but also those to be shouldered at the higher levels at a future date.

In Chapter V, we have suggested the creation of a separate detective branch on the model of the British police, under which every policeman starts his career as a uniformed constable. Later, those who show proficiency in investigation work are drafted in the C.I.D. Even at higher levels, the system encourages interchange of personnel between the two wings. The initial experience of work in the uniformed branch proves invaluable for the C.I.D. men. Also, the British system provides

for salutary flexibility in organisation by permitting personnel interchanges without, of course, affecting the identity and peculiarities of the detective branch. The emulation of the British practice would mean that everyone has to enter the service as a uniformed constable, and later he can make his choice of the two branches on the basis of his aptitude and performance in examinations.

So far as the subordinate and middle management levels are concerned, our proposal for a single point entry at the level of the constable will facilitate the adoption of the British practice. But, the federal recruitment of senior level officers poses a problem for specialisation. Historically speaking, the members of the Indian Police were recruited during the British regime to ensure efficient management of a homogeneous police force. The I.P. antidates specialisation in police work. Its successor —— the I.P.S. —— has inherited the built-in difficulties of a non-specialist generalist managerial cadre. Specialisation in police work cannot be acquired simply by being a member of an elite cadre; it is the fruit of long and sustained involvement in professional work. The Indian Police Service has no doubt produced very competent officers who can be compared very favourably with police officers anywhere in the world.

But, the very nature of the Service tends to make its members generalist managers rather than specialist police officers. That is why we have suggested earlier in this discussion that, like the members of the Continental officer class, the members of the I.P.S. must be exposed to prolonged field experience at the police station level. During the course of their field training, they would naturally have to be immersed in the details of police work in both the branches ——— the C.I.D. and the Uniformed Branch. Like the members of the subordinate constabulary, they would also have to choose to go into either of the two branches, depending on their aptitude and performance. Interchange of personnel between the two branches should be encouraged which would help build up a sufficiently integrated police force.

In the context of city policing, sometimes it has been argued that the force for the city should be constituted separately. The example of Calcutta police is quite handy in this respect, as the force in Calcutta, with the exception of its top layer of I.P.S. officers, is recruited separately to constitute an exclusive city police force. For the rest of West Bengal, there is, of course, a common police force. We do not subscribe to the idea of a separate city police force whose members

would be recruited differently from others in state police service. To create a small force is to minimise chances of promotion of its members. Also, the exclusive character of a force may lead to its stagnation. It is easier to refurbish a local force by drawing upon the available merit in the entire state force.

Training:

The present arrangements for police training are naturally conditioned by the existing personnel structure. The State police training colleges for the training of subordinate police officers and training schools for the constables have been in existence since 1905. The Central Police Training College at Mount Abu for the training of gazetted officers came into being much later after Independence. Police training in India started at a time when specialisation in police work was not much encouraged. Hence the training courses were heavily oriented toward law and order maintenance in general. Emphasis has thus always been laid on law and procedure. This system of training continues even today and the greatest defect of police training in this country lies in its unthinking attachment to the ancient conception of crime control. As a senior police officer has rightly observed, "In the

complex structure of present day social conditions in India there is a distinct tendency to extend police activities beyond the orthodox conception of crime control. Therefore the educational activities of the Police have to be expanded correspondingly". [2] This raises the fundamental question of goal-setting for training, which must precede any discussion on courses and instructions. Training is an investment in manpower. Its main purpose is to enhance the quality of staff employed in specific duties. Inculcation of professional skill is, therefore, its chief objective. Because of general deficiency in our school educational programme which usually avoids lessons in civics and good citizenship —— a lamentary lacunae no doubt —— another important dimension that needs to be added to our police training objective is the administrative and socio-economic framework within which every policeman has to function.

Once the goals of training are set, the courses have to be linked to personnel structure. At the moment, regular police training programmes are catering to three

---

2. F.V. Arul, 'Police Training', CBI Bulletin, vol. V, No. 1, January 1971.

groups —— the constabulary, the sub-inspectors and the gazetted officers. Apart from these, specialised courses are organised by the two Central Detective Schools at Calcutta and Hyderabad, the Forensic Science Laboratory at Calcutta, the Central School for Weapons and Tactics at Indore, and the Central Transport School at Saugar. Another institution very recently established is the Central Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science which is presently attached to the Bureau of Police Research and Development in the Union Ministry of Home Affairs.

Since the constabulary at the bottom is the meeting point of the Uniformed Branch and the Detective Branch in our proposed scheme of personnel structure, the training of constables needs to be freshly organised keeping in view the roles they have to play in the organisation. We have examined carefully the courses that are offered to the constables in the different States.[3] Apparently,

---

3. See Transactions of the Central Police Training College, Abu, April, 1965, Chapter II : Training of Constables in Modern Set-up ----- Report of a Syndicate. Also see the Questionnaire prepared by the Committee on Police Training, Government of India, New Delhi, 1971.

the course contents look all right. In all the States, attempts have been made to acquaint the prospective constable with the socio-economic and administrative framework within which he has to operate. Comprehensive lessons are imparted on different aspects of police work and laws. The defects in the present training programmes for the constables are twofold. Firstly, the educational background of the constable is so poor that he does not have the mental capacity to receive the lessons. Secondly, in the absence of good trainers the training programme tends to be uninteresting to the trainee constable. Another point that needs emphasis is that the field training of the constable is almost always neglected. There is hardly any one in the police station to which the trainee constable is really attached, who could help the trainee sympathetically and patiently to comprehend the operations. Chronic shortage of staff often compels the use of trainees for actual operations. A Head Constable has succinctly posed the problems of training of the constabulary thus: "At present the syllabus for the constabulary in the training schools covers besides drill and physical training, elementary principles in law and police procedure. With his academic education at the elementary level, the recruit finds it difficult to appreciate the subtle points

involved in this professional course, particularly so, when the major part of his time during the training is utilised in drill and fatigue duties. He has no idea of the importance of scientific approach to police problems. After completion of six months training in police school, he is posted to police station and as a full-fledged member he commences his duties straightway. Sometimes he is sent along with a senior constable to learn field work, but with the limited strength in the rest of the police stations this is rarely possible with the result the recruit goes out into the field and learns whatever is possible on his own. It must be mentioned here that if teaching or guidance does come forth from the senior constables, to say the least, it is not encouraging".[4] The inference that can be drawn from this observation is that training at the lowest level is in an woefully bad shape. One important reason for paying scant attention to the training facilities of the constabulary is its class composition. For the illiterate constable drawn mainly from the agricultural class, there has not been much concern. We have

---

4. S. Krishnamurthi, 'Some Problems of the Constabulary', The Indian Police Journal, vol. X, No.4, April 1964.

envisaged recruitment of a new brand of educated constables who would be able to occupy higher positions in the police organisation. It will therefore be necessary to organise the training schools properly so that the type of men that would be recruited does not find the school surroundings repulsive. The trainer has to be carefully chosen, as the old trainer would not be able to handle the educated constable who would naturally expect the trainer to be a man of culture and calibre. If the unit beat policing is introduced, this would entail a thorough change in the training programme. The constable has to be given training in the objectives of beat duties, the functions that he will have to perform as beat constable, the role and responsibilities of the C.I.D. and the information needed to feed it. This would be in addition to the numerous duties that a uniformed constable will have to perform. Another aspect of constabulary training on which we lay considerable emphasis is to make him science-minded. In the developed countries, the training of constables has adjusted itself to the present-day revolution in communications and electronics. Our city police organisations are expected to make increasing use of scientific equipments. The training courses should, therefore, include

lessons in the handling of such equipments. A good training in sound reporting system should form part of the programme. Elementary lessons in type-writing, card indexing, driving, records keeping and management, and reporting would be of considerable benefit to the constabulary. We particularly noticed during our field visits that the constables knew a lot about the powers they possess in laws and rules. It will be training from a wrong end if a trainee constable is first told about his legal powers. An imaginative training programme should emphasise the role of "service" to the community than the possession and exercise of "powers". When on field training, the constable should be trained adequately in public relations. It will be a good idea to employ trainee constables in duties such as helping school children to cross roads, assisting patients in out patients' departments in hospitals, first aid duties in playgrounds and fairs, and so on. Service to the community stems from an attitude of mind that needs to be carefully developed during the training period. Field training to be successful must be under the continuous guidance of an officer who should not have any other duties. We deprecate the present practice of drafting the trainee constables for active duties. The training

programme should be so organised that the constables receive instructions initially in the schools where they would come back again for a sufficiently long period at the end of their field training. This will give them an opportunity to reexamine the initial lessons in the light of the experiences gained during field training. In England, such a method has been found to be very beneficial.

Training programme for the middle management level is very ill-developed in India. What passes for sub-inspectors' training is not much different in contents from the programme chalked out for the constabulary. Since we envisage a single point entry at the lowest level and subsequent positions upto the rank of chief inspector would be filled up by promotion, it is pointless to repeat operational details at the middle management level. The training programme for this level has to be adjusted to the needs of the level. The officers at this level are expected to lead the rank and file and guide the subordinate ranks in the operations. They have constantly to examine the operational details from the standpoint of their effectiveness, supervise the men on duties, deploy subordinate ranks properly and keep up their morale. They must make sure that the records and

materials are maintained scientifically and reporting is done methodically. They will have to communicate with officers at higher ranks and deal with the members of the public. It may be necessary to keep in touch with many local public or semi-public and private organisations such as municipalities, panchayats, improvement trusts, youth organisations and voluntary associations. The training programme should be tailored to the needs of these situations. In general, the programme will have to be management, supervision and public relations oriented.

We have earlier suggested bifurcation of the police organisation into a Uniformed Branch and a Detective Branch. This functional separation has important implications for police training. At each of three levels —— operational, middle management, and senior management —— the art and science of a particular branch have to be inculcated to the personnel under training. Thus a detective constable will, in addition to the duties pertaining to the uniformed branch, know about his role and functions in the detective branch. As he would move up into higher positions on the detective side, the detective training programme must be so drawn up that he could be equipped to undertake the new

responsibilities. It may be pointed out that detective training in India is still in its infancy, compared to similar training in other developed countries such as France, England and West Germany. This is mainly due to our over-emphasis on duties relating to law and order maintenance. With the creation of a new detective branch, as suggested by us, training of C.I.D. personnel has to be carefully thought of. The two Detective Schools will not be able to cope up with the demand for new C.I.D. men and officers. Also, their present training programmes are basically elementary, and not designed for higher detective training. In fact, on the detective side training programmes have to be considered at all levels de novo. In developing new courses for the C.I.D., it may be useful to follow the patterns of the Detective Training School at Hendon in England, where courses are run for both junior and senior detective personnel. Since opening of new detective schools and colleges would involve considerable expenditure, it may be advisable to set up regional detective training institutions that could be financed by the Government of India and the participating States in a region.

The training programme for the I.P.S. officers deserves special mention. Following in the footsteps of

the I.P., the I.P.S. seeks to recruit a top managerial class of officers for the police organisation. The Service has been able to attract bright young candidates of high educational attainment and mental faculty. The I.P.S. officers are destined to occupy top positions in police organisational hierarchy, which demand certain qualifications from their holders. One must have complete command over the details of police work and the laws and rules pertaining to it. The officer class in some of the Continental countries in Europe is drawn from the University law graduates for the simple reason that police administration at higher levels demands a thorough knowledge of public law. Apart from professional training in police subjects, the I.P.S. officer needs to be groomed as a manager and a leader. Management science has emerged as a well-developed discipline in recent times. Since the officer has to deal with resources of all kinds - personnel, materials, finances, records and reports ——— it is imperative that his training is slanted toward management. Work study and operational research which have long been adopted by our Armed Forces in their higher training programmes, are yet to have their impact on higher police training. Computer technology is also soon to be pressed to the

service of police organisations especially in bigger cities and at the State level. The I.P.S. officers who will be holding important managerial positions should be adequately exposed to computer science. Leadership qualities are susceptible of development through imaginative training. At higher echelons, the organisation depends so much for its success on sound leadership by higher officers. The training programme should, therefore, identify the qualities of leadership and simulate situations where the role of leadership would become evident. Another important aspect of higher training would be to make the trainee officers conscious of the environment within which they would have to function. Instead of avoiding political discussions, it would be better to expose the trainees to the political context of administration. Many a time, police administration has to operate in close collaboration with numerous public or semi-public organisations. Local government, development authorities, the courts, local welfare organisations, district administration as a whole ——— all these impinge on police operations directly or indirectly. The trainee officer should be oriented toward the politico-administrative framework within which he will have to function. Last but not the least, the training programme should try to

subtly build up a psychology of public accountability. Police operations affect the citizens in a local area very intimately. The success of the operations has a direct and proportional relationship with the support of the citizenry. It is at the training stage that the idea of public accountability and the need for police-public rapport should be imaginatively inculcated.

At the moment, the training of I.P.S. officers lacks focus. The new recruits are first gathered at the National Academy of Administration at Mussoorie for a four-month Foundational Course which is attended also by the new recruits to the I.A.S. and other Central Services. In a motley crowd of all kinds of trainee officers, special needs of police service are naturally neglected and the officers are fed on variegated subjects ranging from elements of administrative principles to law, economics and history and culture. The purpose of the Foundational Course, so far as police trainees are concerned, is not quite clear. If it is intended to give them a grounding in the framework of administration, this could as well be done at Mount Abu. If the idea is to instill a sense of comaraderie among the different kinds of officers, the short-duration Foundational Course does not seem to be the right method for it. The I.P.S. trainees leave the

National Academy with a muffled feeling of unhappiness that despite the brief get-together they have to function in real life in general subordination to the I.A.S. officers.

We are not quite convinced about the efficacy of the Foundational Course and would suggest instead that the I.P.S. trainees should straightway be brought to the National Police Academy at Mount Abu for a short course of about six months' duration. At this stage the training programme would try to cover the environment of police administration and police administration as such. The former would include the social, economic, political and constitutional contexts, while the latter would prepare the ground for professional training. This initial training would aim at building up a rounded programme without trying to bring in the specialisations in either of the two branches —— uniformed and detective . The next stage would be devoted to protracted field training. As we have suggested earlier, the trainee officer should be attached to police stations for a fairly long period and to successive positions at intermediate points such as a 'district' in a metropolitan city, revenue district, range, and city and State headquarters. Field training would be for a year during

which time the trainee officer would have to choose his line of specialisation. If he opts for the detective branch, he should be sent to the State detective training college where he will have to get through the qualifying examinations. If his choice falls on the uniformed branch, he should go to the appropriate State training college for the uniformed branch. In an age of specialisation, the I.P.S. officers should thus be made to specialise in specific fields.

A most pertinent question that can be asked at this stage is: what will be the role of the National Police Academy in view of specialised training programmes for the uniformed branch and the C.I.D. The initial training of the I.P.S. officers would take place, as suggested, at the Academy itself. Since the officers in our proposed scheme would be specialising in specific branches, we envisage a new role of the Academy in future training programmes. It will be primarily a training institution in higher police management. In the second place, the Academy will have to develop courses for the training of trainers for the State training colleges. At the moment, the newly constituted Bureau of Police Research and Development in the Home Ministry is running a few

courses for high level police officers. To avoid duplication of efforts, in future the training courses offered by the Bureau and the Academy have to be coordinated. The Bureau is ideally placed to assist and coordinate the training programmes of the States and the Union Territories. It may also encourage and finance research on police problems by professional institutions and universities as well as by the research wings of State police departments. We attach considerable importance to high level research intended to keep the police administration in a constant state of modernisation and professional efficiency. Obviously, the organisation and staffing of the National Police Academy will have to be adjusted to the new demands on its services. As a national institution, the Academy should strive to achieve standards in training and research that would benefit police organisation all over India.

These suggestions are intended to improve police operations both in urban and rural areas. In an urban situation, specialisation is needed in different branches of police work. Especially, crime control, intensive surveillance, crowd control, and traffic regulations demand prior specialised training. Both at the State level and the National Police Academy, imaginative

training programmes need to be launched keeping in view the special requirements of urban policing. In this connection, training programmes for traffic police work deserve special mention. In the urban situation, traffic is increasingly becoming a special policing problem. We have earlier suggested formation of specialised traffic branches within the city police organisations. At the moment, whatever passes for traffic police work in our cities is largely related to regulation of traffic. Traffic planning which is undertaken by transport and town planners is yet to enter into police organisations in our cities. This would entail organisation of specialised courses for the police personnel deployed on traffic duties or managing traffic problems. In future, there will be considerable demand for such training programmes to equip our city police force with the necessary expertise in this specialised branch.

Finally, we would like to stress the importance of training as an integral part of career development. Currently, many training programmes are being conducted which have little or no connection with the felt needs of the police organisation. Again, it is not uncommon to find that an officer receives training in a specialised field, but is posted to an altogether

different branch where his expertise would be of little use. Training will be taken much more seriously by trainee officers, if it is tagged to promotion. In the absence of a conscious effort toward career management, training today has the tendency to become a regular ritual involving considerable wastage of manpower and financial resources. The sooner we check this tendency the better for us.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The main purpose of the report has been to analyse and explain the major policing problems in our fast growing cities. In course of analyses, certain observations have been made which are recommendatory in nature. But, to make recommendations was not our principal aim. Listed below is a number of important observations which should be read in the proper context in which these have been made.

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
1.	The arbitrary distinction made in law between cognisable and non-cognisable offences often stands in the way of prompt action which obviously does not bring credit to the city police organisation. If the police has to win public confidence, the legal distinction between cognisable and non-cognisable offences needs to be reexamined and possibly, a number of offences that are presently listed as 'non-cognisable' may have to be designated as 'cognisable'.	III	68-9
2.	The jurisdiction of a city police district should be delineated on the principle of rural-urban integration. Thus a city police district should consist of the core city and its neighbouring urban-rural tract which is closely connected with the urban		

Sl.No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	core socially, economically and physically. We would advocate that the city police jurisdiction should as far as possible, coincide with the planning areas delineated by the State Town and Country Planners.	IV	85-85A
3.	Basically, the shortcomings of the macro-structure follow from the duality involved in the present system of policing under which our sample cities fall. The district system has a built-in tendency toward indecision, delay and vacillation. We do not wish to look at the problem of macro-organisation as one of Commissioner System versus district system. Purely from the pragmatic point of view, police powers per se which are presently vested in the district magistrate, should be given to the police chief of the cities in our sample. These powers have for a long time been vested in the police chiefs of the Commissionerate cities. Once this is done, it will be much easier to pin the police chief down for any lapses in operations, as he would not then be able to take shelter under the argument that he lacked necessary powers to deal with the situation.	IV	113-4
4.	What concerns us most is the mechanism for ensuring popular accountability of the city police force, as distinguished from bureaucratic accountability, in order that the localities that are directly affected by police operations should have some voice in local area police administration. In suggesting an institutional design for this		

Sl.No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	purpose, we are inclined to accept the district magistrate as one of the many important area level interests that could be gathered together in a common forum to promote healthy relationships between the city police organisation and the dominant local interests. We, therefore, propose a permanent statutory City Police Authority consisting of the mayors and presidents of municipal authorities falling within the jurisdiction of a city police district, the chairman of the involved zila parishad, the chairmen of panchayat samitis included in the police district, the district magistrate or his nominee, the president of the local bar council and a few important local public men to be nominated by the government. The main purpose of the constitution of the police authority is to make the local police more responsive to local needs. From the operational point of view, the statutory relationship between the city police administration and the different local interests and associations will prove beneficial for the city police force.	IV	119-21
5.	We would urge that the city police chief must have a planning cell consisting of a few hand-picked superior staff who would study the city police problems continuously, try out new methods of policing, evaluate the existing techniques and keep a constant watch on operations with a view to achieving newer and better policing systems.	V	125
6.	We strongly feel that the concerned State Police Authorities should devise more appropriate formulae for manning the city police organisations including such additional criteria as manpower		

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	requirement for crowd control and processions and demonstrations, administration of various social legislations, public relations and civic services, and so on. What we are insisting on is that the manpower requirements of city police forces have to be more rigorously and scientifically estimated keeping in view the manifold demands on the police in the urban situation, and the indices for manpower provision would be radically different from those applicable to a rural situation.	V	127-8
7.	Normally, the police station functions in its routine way, the Circle Inspector drifts at the middle and the higher supervisory staff close to the city police chief would at best stir up from somnolence in emergencies and exceptional situations. It needs hardly any emphasis that the organisation is not conducive to efficient operations. To remedy this situation, we would advocate the location of higher level supervisory personnel at the circle level with definite duties and responsibilities and having direct link with an apex wing at the headquarters in charge of all field operations relating to crime, law and order and traffic. What we are envisaging is a Field Operations Directorate at the headquarters just below the city police chief which will direct and keep in constant touch with all ground level operations in relation to criminal investigation, order maintenance including patrol duties and traffic regulations.	V	130-31

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
8.	Considering the vast and very important responsibilities of the officer-in-charge of a police station, we are of the opinion that the entire superstructure of city police organisation suffers grievously on account of the faulty policy of entrusting the crucial charge of a police station to the lowest police officer - the subinspector. It is of utmost importance that the police station is placed under the charge of an officer with ripe experience, considerable leadership qualities and sound managerial ability. Keeping in view the role envisaged, no officer below the rank of an inspector should be posted as station house officer of a city police station.	V	139-40
9.	If we are serious about reforms in our city police organisations, such reforms must start from the level of the police station where intelligent and educated men are urgently needed in replacement of the vast army of rough, ill-trained, underpaid and uneducated constables who are not qualified to perform the duties that are assigned to them.	V	144-5
10.	We heard the universal complaint that normal police station work ——— mainly beat duties and surveillance work, and criminal investigation ——— is almost going by default primarily because of the deployment of staff on 'bandobast duties. From what we have actually seen in the field, we are convinced that unless the present practice of withdrawing men and officers from normal police work	V	145-6

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	is stopped forthwith, the entire police system will soon be in jeopardy. We would urge that the first thing that has to be done immediately is to devise a new method for tackling policing problems relating to 'bandobast' duties. For all non-police station operations, if these are found to be too frequent, a separate contingent of specialised force should be raised. It is possible that the present Armed Police in every State which is generally kept separate from the ordinary civil police could be trained in such a way that their members would be able to deal with the emergent situations tactfully.	V	145-6
11.	Mere separation of the two types of staff - law and order, and investivation ——— cannot solve the problem. The criminal investigation staff has to be separated in the police force all along the line. Because of the flexibility of the organisation in England, the English system may well be tried out in our country. This would mean that the staff joining the C.I.D. force will remain with the C.I.D. unless any member of the force opts to cross over to the Uniformed Branch. The two sides would of course have to work in close association with each other, yet each would remain a separate and differentiated wing of the police force. Also, it is absolutely necessary that the staff on the C.I.D. side work in plain clothes.	V	154-5

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
12.	Especially in cities like Lucknow, Kanpur and Jaipur, organisation of a specialised central traffic planning and control room should be seriously considered. Motorised traffic police would have to be introduced in at least more populous cities to keep watch on the road hogs.	V	149
13.	We feel that a specialised Burglary and Theft Squad can be constituted in each city and its performance watched carefully. Kanpur might need a Homicide Squad and all the northern cities in the sample including Bhopal could think of forming specialised squads to deal with kidnapping and abduction. Cases relating to criminal breach of trust and cheating are not negligible in the three cities of Kanpur, Lucknow and Coimbatore. Specialised squads might be tried out to deal with such cases. We would, however, conclude that the need for specialised crime squads should be assessed by each city on the basis of its individual crime situation and in no case should the detective wing be fragmented into many small specialised units.	V	159-60
14.	The evidence that we got during field visits is that the city patrol organisation is very poorly manned and managed. The objectives of patrol duties are not quite clear in the minds of the operational staff. Nor is supervision of patrol staff satisfactory. We do not think that mere improvement is supervision is going to improve things. Unless the calibre of the constabulary improves considerably so that intelligent men are deployed on patrol		

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	duties, no amount of supervision will be able to cure the present ills. With clear objectives and far less manpower, it is possible to evolve a system of beat policing like the unit beat system in England which will yield satisfactory results in police-community relations, reduction in crime rate and increase in detection rates. It may not be possible to immediately equip our patrol men with individual radio set, and provide for mobile cars on beat. Yet, some other features of this system of beat operation such as resident patrol man, collator and the intimate contacts between the uniformed branch and detective branch could be emulated by our police organisation with profit.	V	166-7
15.	We would urge that a team of work study specialists should be invited to undertake a thorough examination of the organisation and internal management of police station work in order to rationalise the work procedure and evolve standardised forms designs for easy and expeditious reporting.	V	169
16.	If the image of the police has to be bettered, it is imperative that imaginative thought should be given to the lay out of police stations. We have no hesitation in saying that most of our existing city police station structures need to be pulled down and replaced by new ones that would look after the amenities of the station staff as much as the comfort of the in-coming public.	V	170

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
17.	If it is accepted that federal recruitment of superior police officers is sound in principle, the desirable course would be to stop direct recruitment of the deputy superintendent of police at the State level.	VI	181-2
18.	The personnel structure in India is a little too fragmented and the principle of standardisation is not quite clear. If we accept the principle of classifying the personnel on the basis of operational level, middle management level and senior management level, it is possible to evolve a standardised personnel structure as follows:	VI	181-2

Level	Ranks
Operational:	1. Constable
	2. Chief Constable
	3. Sub-inspector
Middle Management	1. Inspector
	2. Chief Inspector
Senior Management	1. Deputy Superintendent
	2. Superintendent
	3. Chief Superintendent

19. We have laid emphasis on urgent reform of the constabulary at the bottom of the organisation. If intelligent and educated men are to be attracted to the service, the salary scales and service conditions must be improved radically. The service structure must offer opportunities to ambitious and competent men for quickly going up in the hierarchy. Promotion policy has to be

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	devised accordingly. Instead of having numerous direct entry points in the police service, we would suggest only two such points of entry - one at the level of the I.P.S. and another at the level of the constable. All the positions from this level upward upto the post of chief inspector in our proposed personnel scheme should be filled up by promotions preceded in each case by examinations.	VI	184-5
20.	The very nature of the Indian Police Service tends to make its members generalist managers rather than specialist police officers. Like the members of the subordinate constabulary and other ranks, the I.P.S. officers must also choose to work in either of the two main branches of the police - the detective branch and the uniformed branch.	VI	187
21.	Since we have envisaged recruitment of a new brand of educated constables who would be able to occupy higher positions in the police organisation, the training schools and their curricula have to be thoroughly overhauled.	VI	193-4
22.	Training programmes for the personnel at the middle management level need to be geared to the requirements of that level.	VI	195-6
23.	As we have suggested the formation of a separate detective branch on the English model, training for the detective staff has to be thought of afresh. Since opening of new detective schools and colleges would involve		

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
	considerable expenditure, it may be advisable to set up regional detective training institutions financed jointly by the Government of India and the participating States.	VI	197
24.	The I.P.S. officers who invariably hold top managerial positions should be trained in management science and computer technology.	VI	198-9
25.	Instead of starting with the Foundational Course at the National Academy of Administration, it would be better to bring the I.P.S. cadets straight to the National Police Academy for a six-month course in the environment of police administration and in police administration as such.	VI	201
26.	During a year long field training, the I.P.S. trainee officer should be attached to the police stations for a fairly long period and to city police organisation, the range, district and state headquarters. After field training, the trainee officer has to choose his line of specialisation and join the appropriate State or regional training college.	VI	201
27.	The National Police Academy, apart from organising the initial training course for the I.P.S. cadets, should be a training institution in higher police management. It will also have to develop courses for the training of trainers for the State/regional training institutions.	VI	202

Sl. No.	Observations	Chapter	Pages
28.	To avoid duplication of efforts, in future the training courses offered by the Bureau of Police Research and Development and the National Police Academy have to be coordinated by the Bureau. The Bureau is ideally placed to assist and coordinate the training programmes of the States and the Union Territories. It may also encourage and finance research on police problems.	VI	203
29.	Owing to rising traffic management problems in bigger cities, specialised courses in traffic planning and management should be organised.	VI	204
30.	Training, to be effective and meaningful, should be made an integral part of a policy on career development.	VI	204-5.